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121 794 field. That function might be defined briefly as the task of maintaining the cosmic balance in the territory of the *desa*, and thus of assuring the well-being of the *desa* inhabitants, by worshipping the divine powers and exorcizing the demonic ones. Each *desa* does this, with ceremonies performed in or nearby its temples. In the *desa* there are differences between inhabitants as regards their functions and their right-of-say, but every group is expected to cooperate in performing the community task by helping to maintain and restore the village temples and to provide offerings and whatever else may be needed for the temple festivals and the ceremonies of purification and exorcism.

It would be one-sided to view the *desa* community exclusively as a community of worship, for it also fulfils a task in the social field. But it is difficult to make a distinction between its social and its religious task, as becomes clear whenever members of a village community go over to another religion. In keeping with the design of this volume, attention will be given particularly to the religious aspects of *desa* life.

## 6

### *The Land of the Many Temples*

361 346 In tourist folders Bali is often advertised as the 'land of the thousand temples'. That such a folder is in error happens quite frequently, but that it errs by understating is a rare exception. Nonetheless that is here the case.

In the earthquake of 1917, 2,431 Balinese temples were destroyed. The stricken area, which was not one of the most densely populated parts of Bali, covered about a ninth of the total surface of the island. This would lead one to set the number of temples on the whole island at more than twenty thousand.[18] A recent figure from the Bureau of Religious Affairs on Bali gave the total number of large and important temples as 4,661.[19]

121 346 No student of Bali can afford not to familiarize himself with the extensive temple system and the religion that manifests itself in it. One of the purposes of this volume is to provide materials

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for such a study. The long quotation on page 28 below places the present-day Balinese temple in its prehistoric perspective. Goris, in his essays "The Religious Character of the Village Community" and "The Temple System",[20] provides a general survey of the temple system and the temple cult. Grader describes a single temple monographically in his study "Pĕmayun Temple of the *Banjar* of Tĕgal" and a special type of temples in "The State Temples of Mĕngwi".[21] In his article on rice cultivation the religious responsibilities of the *sawah*-owners and the irrigation associations are also given attention. And Franken, in his "Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt",[22] illustrates how Bali's pantheon and temple system are still being extended from time to time.

## 7

## *Western Literature Regarding Bali*

A good thirty-five years ago, C. Lekkerkerker, then the librarian of the Bali Institute at Amsterdam, brought out an excellent bibliography of literature on Bali published between 1597 and 1919, including as many publications as possible in other languages alongside of those in Dutch.[23] A supplement covering the years 1920–1935, but this time restricted to "the most important literature on the culture of Bali", was published by Goris in 1937.[24] In this case, too, books and articles in Indonesian, English, French, and German were listed as well as those in Dutch.

The earliest Western writings on the island were usually based on brief chance contacts. The writers (beginning with Aernoudt Lintgensz., the first Dutchman to set foot on Bali, in 1597)[25] looked at the outward appearance, and their reports, though often containing interesting material, were not the result of serious research. The visits of Raffles and Crawfurd, in the early nineteenth century, were likewise little more than brief encounters.[26]

Around the middle of the nineteenth century the situation changed. At that time the German Sanskritist R. Friederich,

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back to megalithic culture. One of the scholars most at home in prehistoric Indonesia has defined the relation as follows:

> Now it is very remarkable, that the so-called Hindu temple of Bali can be traced back not to the temples of India but to the prehistoric megalithic sanctuaries. This appears at once from the fact, that in India the statue of the god is the centre of religious worship, whereas on the island Bali this is not the case. In India (and also on Hindu Java) the people worship f[or] i[nstance] the sungod Surya in the form of a statue, representing a man, sitting in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In the Balinese temples a stone seat is erected for Surya, onto which the godhead is supposed to descend in an invisible form, when the priest invokes him. As to the general form we may say, that in India and in Hindu Java the temple is a house or hall, on Bali it is a square surrounded by a wall.
>
> In ancient Indonesia and in Polynesia the sanctuary was always an open space, usually surrounded by a wall and often paved with great stones. Here all religious ceremonies took place. Here the great nature gods, such as the god of the sun, of the mountains, of the sea etc. were invoked as well as the souls of the ancestors, whereupon they descended upon the megaliths which were erected for them. Sometimes these were simply upright stones, sometimes stone tables, consisting of a flat stone on top of some smaller stones, sometimes stone seats, consisting of a prostrate (female) stone and at the back as a support an erect (male) stone. These megaliths are the forerunners of the shrines which are found at the back of the last temple court of the Balinese temples; they are destined for Surya, the god of the Gunung Agung etc. In some temples up till to-day the simple megalith monuments are still found to be preserved.
>
> Ancestor worship played an important role among the ancient Indonesians. Their souls descended onto the megaliths, for example onto the stone seats. As, however, the chiefs and the oldest men of the village were supposed to represent the ancestors they had the right to sit down on these stone seats at ceremonies and meetings. In this way groups of similar seats, as still exist for example at Gèlgèl, are the prehistorical forerunners of the present-day "balé agung".
>
> In the old Polynesian sacred places there was often on one side a stepped pyramid, consisting out of two or more terraces, built out of unhewn stones and growing smaller as it rose higher. ... On Bali several places are found consisting of a square which is either enclosed or not, having one or more stepped pyramids. They probably represent the celestial mountain in the same way as the multiple roofs of the Balinese Meru's. This type of sanctuaries is found especially in villages where the Hindu influence has been less intensified and where the old animistic conceptions are still surviving."

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Various extant Balinese temples are still built in terraces, which make the whole temple resemble a 'stepped pyramid', as in the case of Pura Bĕsakih and of Pura Kĕhĕn at Bangli.

Some of the other early, indigenous cultural elements may be summarized in brief as follows:[36]

wet-rice cultivation, with everything it involved in the way of irrigation, organization, tunnel-building, and aqueduct-construction;
the breeding of game-cocks and the holding of cock-fights, which even today retain something of the ritual significance of a blood-sacrifice, though this aspect is now obscured by passionate betting;
wood-construction, especially of small pavilions (*bales*) in many forms;
crafts such as iron-working and bronze-working, red and blue dyeing, and weaving;
in the fields of music and the dance: the *gamĕlan sĕlunding* with iron keys and the bamboo orchestra (*angklung*), temple dances for the women and girls and war dances for the men, and the *kechak* dance, essentially a male choir accompanying the dancing of girls in a state of trance (*sangyang*);
the system of family, village, and regional temples[37] and the rituals performed there;
the offerings, with their often-complicated mixture of ingredients and their decorations, cuttings, and plaitings in countless varieties;
a large share of the folk tales handed down in oral tradition;
and, by no means least of all, the language, which, with its structure, must be considered an autochthonous cultural possession.

By way of contrast with these items, a list may be made of a number of cultural elements of Hindu or Hindu-Javanese origin:

the central authority of the ruler, and his position as representative of the divine forces;
the Brahmin *pĕdanda* and his ritual;[38]
many of the religious writings, with their mystical speculations;[39]
cremation;
the burning of widows (formerly customary in the higher classes, abolished since early in the twentieth century under pressure from the Netherlands East Indies government);
most of the products of literary art in palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontars*), and in conjunction with them countless motifs for tales and dramas;
an important enrichment of the vocabulary and the system of 'vocabularies of courtesy';[40]
the calendar according to the Hindu (or Hindu-Javanese) system;[41]

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| Direction | Divinity | Colour | Day (of the five-day week) | Number |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| East | Iswara | White | Umanis | 5 |
| South | Brahma | Red | Paing | 9 |
| West | Mahadewa | Yellow | Pon | 7 |
| North | Wisnu | Black | Wage | 4 |
| Centre | Siwa | Varicoloured | Klion | 8 |

Though this system has some points in common with the bipartite and tripartite divisions, it is not to be looked upon as merely an expansion of them. It has a function of its own, for example in augury: with it a fighting cock's chances can be calculated on the basis of its colour, the day of the match, and its place in the cockpit. It also plays an important rôle in the offering ritual. For example, it determined the arrangement of the altars and officiants and the composition and ingredients of many of the offerings at the royal consecration mentioned above, as may be seen from the following brief description.

Pavilions (*pĕmiosans*) had been built at the centre and on the east, north, west, and south side of the *puri* square for the officiating priests. For this occasion one *pĕdanda Siwa* officiated for each of the four directions. (To judge from similar occasions it would seem that a *pĕdanda Boda* is preferred for the south if possible.) In the centre sat a *pĕdanda Siwa* and a *pĕdanda Boda*. The *pĕdanda Siwa* in the centre was the leader of the ceremony. The place of the *pĕdanda Boda* was to the right and the south (*kĕlod*) of the *pĕdanda Siwa* on a *pĕmiosan* erected close to the centre of the square. Both these priests sat with their faces turned to the east. At a distance, to the east, south, west, and north of the centre, sat their four colleagues, each oriented towards his own direction. The *pĕmiosans* were adorned with curtains in the colours belonging to their directions; the curtains for the centre were varicoloured (*manchawarna*, the combination of the four colours of the directions).

For the centre and each of the four directions there was a *sanggar tawang*, a structure used for offerings to the celestial gods. It is a platform on eight fairly high posts, surrounded by a railing and

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only open on the officiant's side; it is divided into three sections. The five *sanggar tawangs* stood in front of their *pĕdandas*. The decoration of the *sanggar tawang* in the centre was as follows: the middle section had white and yellow curtains and a white and yellow parasol; the section to the left (from the officiant's point of view) had black curtains and a black parasol, while in the section to the right the curtains and the parasol were red.

On the *sanggar tawang* lay eight sets of offerings with their appurtenances, including the so-called *chatur* offerings, a black one in the left section, a red one in the right section, and a yellow and a white one in the middle section. Offerings for the lords of the demons were arranged on the ground in front of each of the five *sanggar tawangs*. (The centre and the four directions each have their own group of demons [*bĕbutan, butabala*] under its own ruler [*butaraja*].) Among these offerings was the Yamaraja offering, a sieve covered with a white *kain* and containing the flour of white, black, yellow, and red rice, in which the figure of Yamaraja had been drawn. Yama is the god of death and the rajah of hell.

Slightly to the south of the *pĕmiosan* of the centre stood a pavilion for the *sĕngguhu*. It was somewhat lower than the *pĕmiosan;* the *sĕngguhu* sat with his face turned towards the east. In front of him on the ground, displayed in a star-shape, lay the *charu mancha sanak*, offerings to the demons of the four directions and the centre, and also a few other offerings.

The *pĕdandas* of the four directions dedicated their offerings to the gods of their directions, and the *pĕdanda Siwa* and the *pĕdanda Boda* in the centre dedicated theirs to the god of the centre, Batara Siwa. After the gods it was the turn of the five demon rulers, the *pĕdandas* dedicated to them the offerings on the ground in front of the *sanggar tawangs*. Then the *sĕngguhu* offered the fivefold *charu manchasanak* to the demon hosts of the four directions and the centre. This offering consisted of a goose, a white chicken, and various white ingredients in the east, often in fives or multiples of five; a reddish-brown dog with a white or black muzzle, a reddish-brown chicken, and red ingredients in the south, often in nines or multiples of nine; in the west a goat (in other lists of similar

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offerings a yellow-hued calf), a white chicken with yellow feet, and yellow ingredients, often in sevens or multiples of seven; in the north an uncastrated young pig (elsewhere a black goat), a black chicken, and black ingredients, often in fours or multiples of four; and in the centre a cow, a varicoloured chicken, and ingredients in five colours, often in eights or multiples of eight.

After the ruler had taken his place in the central pavilion intended for him, the *pĕdandas* and the *sĕngguhu* informed the gods and demons that the consecration of the ruler was to take place. This solemn announcement was followed by the *muspa* (from Sanskrit *puṣpa*, flower) of the ruler. For this he went to the *sanggar tawang* of the centre, took a place before it, and made a fivefold *sĕmbah* (a gesture of worship, with the hands raised to the forehead, closed as in prayer, with the fingertips touching) towards the east, first with a white champak flower (Michelia champaca), then a dark blue butterfly pea (Clitoria ternatea), a yellow champak flower, a red hibiscus, and, the fifth time, a kind of nosegay. Then *sĕmbahs* were made in the same way to the north, the west, and the south. Finally the ruler, still seated at the same place, made his *sĕmbah* for the centre. For it he turned towards the east again, but this time he held his hands folded above his head for the fivefold homage. The *muspa* in each of the four directions was accompanied by a *sĕmbah* of the *pĕdanda* of that direction; the *pĕdanda Siwa* and the *pĕdanda Boda* in the centre both made the *sĕmbah* accompanying the *muspa* for the centre.[32]

As can be seen from this description, the basic structure for the ceremony was provided by the system of fourfold classification. In the centre, symbolic of the higher unity, sat the leader of the ceremony. That was also the place of the ruler being consecrated, on whom was to be concentrated all the influence of the powers of the cardinal points, powers which are themselves aspects or emanations of the central divinity. Hence it was said that as a result of the consecration the ruler absorbed the properties of the gods of the four directions and the centre.

But not only the general structure was dominated by the fourfold system; it was also repeated in a number of details of the

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*Chapter Four*

# Religious Practices of the Family and the Individual

The studies in this book[1] give an impression of Balinese religion as expressed in the temple system and the religious activities of the village community, the region, and the realm. Hence we shall not devote special attention to such aspects in this introduction: a reference to those studies may suffice. Religious beliefs, however, also find expression on Bali in smaller social groups such as the family, the extended family, and the clan, and in observances of an individual character. A few notes on these aspects of religion follow.

## I

## *The Household Temple*

The *kaja*-eastern corner of a Balinese compound is the place for the household temple (*sanggah, pĕmĕrajan*). The household temple is to the family what the navel temple is to the *desa*. In the navel temple the village community worships the purified, and thus deified, souls of the first settlers and founders of the *desa;* in the same way the family worships the purified and deified souls of its own ancestors in the household temple. Inside the group there can be a difference according to seniority (a distinction between ancestors from a distant past and those from the directly preceding generations), or else according to the degree of purification (a distinction between souls who have been purified only once and those who as a result of more than one purification have become worthy of a greater degree of celestial bliss).[2]

One of the most important elements of the household temple is the *sanggah kĕmulan*, the 'shrine of origin'.[3] This shrine is divided

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As a matter of course they will seek a place 'higher than the village', in Balinese thus *kaja*,[16] to worship the lord of the ground. This place of veneration is the *pura puseh*[17] or temple of origin, and there, besides the lord of the ground, the villagers will later also worship the deified forefather or clan and village founder, and seek contact with that force. For the graveyard and the *pura dalem* accompanying it (also in its more rudimentary forms) they will seek a place 'lower than the village' (*kelod*).

For their village meetings they choose a spot in the centre of the settlement, for example at a crossroads or the place where the market is held (the two will often coincide). It is quite plausible that in very early times the young men's houses, the accomodations for strangers (that is to say, guests of the village), and perhaps the pavilion for the cockfights were located there. Also the initiation of young people to the status of full members of the *desa* may have taken place there in very early days. (Whether there were originally various initiations, for example first a puberty rite, then later the initiation as *desa* member coinciding with the young man's marriage, need not be considered here.) This centre of the village, with its multiple functions in *desa* life, developed into a temple, the *pura bale agung*, the temple of the large (meeting) hall. It is this temple that Korn describes as "the sacral men's house".[18]

These three temples should be present in every village, and the more traditional villages have all three. But there are remarkable local deviations. In the first place the *pura puseh* may be represented anew in a part of the *pura bale agung*. This representation can be of various kinds. Sometimes there is a separate *pura puseh*, and moreover a chapel for the god of the *puseh* in the *pura bale agung*. At other times there is no separate *pura puseh*, but a place is reserved for it on or next to the grounds of the *pura bale agung*. In this latter case there is always a clear boundary separating the two, whether it is a stone wall, a wall of bamboo, a simple elevation of the ground, or a hedge. The *pura dalem*, too, can be represented in various ways. It is often to be found in front of the main entry to the *pura bale agung*, reduced to a single pavilion or

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184 *bale*. Since the *pura bale agung* is *kaja*-oriented, the *bale* repre-
621 senting the *pura dalĕm* consequently lies *kĕlod*.

778 In some of the old mountain villages the system is condensed
346 even further, with the benches inside and/or outside the gate of the *bale agung* serving as places of worship for the lord of the dead. In making offerings to this god one turns *kĕlod*, that is to say one sits facing the gate, thus with one's back to the gods of the *pura bale agung* itself. The direction in which the offerings are made – *kaja* for the upper-worldly gods in the *pura bale agung* and the *pura puseh*, and *kĕlod* for the nether-worldly forces of the *pura dalĕm* – is in keeping with the nature of the offerings. The sacrificial animals, too, are very clearly distinguished in *kaja* (upper-worldly) and *kĕlod* (nether-worldly) offerings.

695 Sometimes a *titi gonggang* is to be found either in front of the *pura bale agung* or near the graveyard. The *titi gonggang* consists of a bamboo or a plank over a pit, and signifies the border between life and death. In various cases this 'hell bridge' or 'soul bridge' is used in trials by ordeal: if the person accused of a crime can walk across it without faltering or falling he is declared innocent. The bridge is mentioned in various eschatological texts, and is almost certainly a synthesis of early indigenous and Hinduized thought. Compare, for example, the reference in the *upanisads* to the bridge of the soul, the path of which is as sharp as the razor's edge.

778 Inside various old-style *puras bale agung*, then, one finds a *pura*
621 *dalĕm* abridged into two *bales* at the entry, or in other cases in front
346 of the *pura bale agung* a condensed *pura dalĕm* with or without a *titi gonggang*. Another *bale* having to do with nether-worldly forces, but one which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, is the *bale pĕgat*, an open pavilion split into two halves. Now the *bales agung* are themselves sometimes split, occasionally even twice, but I am here concerned with the *bale pĕgat* as it is to be found in several traditionalistic mountain villages, and also in the three chief temples of the Bĕsakih complex. In each of the central temples of Bĕsakih – Pĕnataran Agung (for the whole of Bali), Dangin Krĕtĕg (for Karangasĕm), and Batu Madĕg (for Bangli)[19] – there is

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a *bale pĕgat* just inside the main entry, through which all processions with the images of the gods have to pass.

After this survey of the nature and the purposes of the three chief village temples something may be said of the way in which they are built. The oldest type of *pura dalĕm* was without doubt a collection of 'spirit houses' or chapels for persons who had just died. Such small temples are still to be found in the mountain regions around Lake Batur, and are reminiscent of the spirit houses of the 'Buddhists' on Lombok. The *puras pusĕh*, too, must originally have contained only very simple chapels. In these temples there are often large venerated stones (*paicha* or *taulan*) evocative of the places in eastern Lombok where stones and fountains are revered by the *waktu tĕlu*, a Moslem group which performs the prescribed prayers three times a day instead of the usual five. The *pura bale agung*, on the other hand, in the nature of things always needed an extensive site with one or two large assembly halls (*bales agung*) for the village meetings, plus a number of other structures.

These two very simple temples (the *pura dalĕm* and *pura pusĕh*) and the *pura bale agung*, much larger in size but equally simple in design, underwent significant architectural changes in the course of the centuries, however. The changes came as a result of Hinduism, and only gradually filtered down from the royal courts to the people as a whole.

Alongside of his household chapel or *chapelle ardente*, his *pura pĕmĕrajan*, the ruler originally had two temples, a *pura pĕnataran* as a state temple and a *prasada* or *chandi*[10] as a dwelling place for his deceased and deified ancestors. Neither of the two was completely private in character. In the *pura pĕnataran* the living unity of the realm was commemorated, celebrated, maintained, and confirmed by religious means; in the *prasada* or *chandi* contact was sought with the deified ancestors. In nature, then, the *pura pĕnataran* was a large temple containing a great many structures: altars, chapels, offering pavilions, meeting halls, music pavilions, offering kitchens, supply halls (rice sheds and the like), guest houses, and so forth. The *prasada* was essentially one large central

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346 stone structure, sometimes with a few smaller ones grouped around it. Stone was used for the whole design of both temples: there were altars and buildings entirely of stone or on stone bases, there was a stone outer wall, and in many cases there were also stone walls dividing the various temple grounds. All the stone surfaces were ornamented, and not only were there gold, silver, wood, and stone images in the chapels, but also the walls and stairs were adorned with stone statues. The woodwork, too – the pillars, the rear side of the *bales* (the so-called *parba*),[21] and the roofs, – was highly ornamented.

346 Following the example of these royal and state temples, the vil-
[177] lage temples were gradually also Hinduized architecturally, with
778 the village *pura bale agung* following the state *pura pĕnataran* and
769 the village *pura dalĕm* following the *prasada*. However, while the ruler, the living representative of the unity of the realm, had two
[621] temples, the village, as we have seen, had three. In the villages, then, there was a different system of thought, but one which eventually adjusted itself to the bipartite system of the Hindu rulers. The royal *pura pĕnataran* served both for the veneration of the lord of the ground and for religious meetings of state, and thus contained within itself the character of both the *pura puseh* and the *pura bale agung* on the village level, while the *prasada* or *chandi* was the place of contact with the deified ancestors of the ruler, and so had a function similar to that of the village *pura puseh*. The function of the village *pura dalĕm*, as a place of homage to the ancestors who had not yet been deified, the *pitara*, was not necessary on the royal level, since the ruler's ancestors were always cremated and their ashes placed in a *chandi*. The process of
[783] purifying their souls was not allowed to be delayed; a whole series of ceremonies, culminating in the placing of the ashes of a deceased ruler in the *chandi*, had to be begun immediately after death.

This was the dictate of the Hindu-Balinese ideal. In practice, however – particularly once the rulers in the first place no longer had the power or the means to build large *prasadas* and in the second place began to feel and think more in Balinese terms as a result of constant intermarriage with Balinese and an absence of

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fresh blood from India or Java, – a need developed for royal *puras dalĕm*, many of wich are to be found on Bali today. They obtained the names of specific ruling houses: Pura Dalĕm Koripan, Pura Dalĕm Sagĕning, Pura Dalĕm Gelgel, and so forth.

In this way a high degree of architectural unity in temple type developed in the areas which were strongly under the influence of the Hinduized rulers, and the *puras pĕnataran*, *bale agung*, and *pusĕh*, and also eventually the *puras dalĕm* (both for the ruler and for the village), began to resemble one another more and more in design and execution. Though the large covered gate is still reminiscent of the chief entry to the old *pura pĕnataran* and the split gate to the chief structure in the *pura chandi* or *prasada*, in this as well there was intermixture, and today countless temples have both types of gates.

There is one architectural type that requires separate consideration: the type of *pura dalĕm* which is frequently to be found in northern Bali (where in fact even other temples of the type besides *puras dalĕm* are encountered). The peculiar thing about this type is that in the final, innermost court of the temple there are three large stone structures on a stone base which is built in terraces or stories. The temples of Sangsit and Kubutambahan are good examples of the type. It does not at all resemble a *prasada*, and is clearly a terrace sanctuary. There are three or more stone terraces interrupted at three places on the front side by stairs leading up to the structures. At the corners of the terraces and at the points where they are interrupted by the stairs there are stone pilasters.

It is also noteworthy that the structures are closed and do not have pagoda-type multiple roofs such as the *merus* have. In some cases the central structure, the highest of the three, is an open stone seat resembling the lotus-seat for Surya, the sun god. If, as is by no means out of the question, this is an expression in stone on a grand scale of the *sanggah kĕmulan tiga-sakti*, then it must be a very old, pre-Hindu (though not indigenous) cultural element.

This is not the place to advance theories regarding the origin of this type of construction or of the *kĕmulan tiga-sakti* (which was later Hinduized into the trinity, and so fitted into the system).

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346 Nonetheless it seems logical to assume a pre-Hindu cultural in-
177 fluence. Once we come to know more of this hypothetical pre-Hindu cultural element, many other Balinese cultural phenomena such as the *lamak* (the plaited offering carpet), the *barong*, the *naga* (a creature to be distinguished from an ordinary serpent, and perhaps a dragon),[22] the winged lion, and so forth may become clear to us.

After these notes on the nature and purpose of the three important village temples and their architectural design, two other village sanctuaries may be mentioned. These are the *pura sĕgara* and the *pura bukit*. The *pura sĕgara*, or sea temple, though falling in the category of the village temples, is of course primarily to be found in *desas* located close to the seashore, while the *pura bukit*, or hilltop temple, is naturally more common in the mountain areas.

Let us now turn to the second series of symptoms indicating the religious character of the village community: the workings of the village administration.

2

*The Village Administration*

621 For an understanding of the structure and function of the village administration it is necessary to turn first of all to the mountain areas, where the pre-Hindu situation has been preserved to a large extent. A survey of conditions there[23] can be of help in understanding the newer type of villages found elsewhere, and can demonstrate that both in Karangasĕm and in Buleleng there are transitional forms towards the *desa* of the Hindu-Javanese type.

624 The village administration of yore was made up of a number of pairs of officials each consisting of one right member and one left member. This same division into two halves or phratries also obtained for the core villagers who did not hold office.

The lists of officials in certain mountain villages follow. In Songan there are two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, one *pĕnyarikan*, two *singgukans*, and seven pairs of *saihs nĕmbĕlas*.[24] In the Gianyar mountain vil-

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## The Temple System

To describe the temple system of Bali in brief scope it is necessary to omit all but the most essential details. This sketch can do no more than to indicate a few main lines and to trace something of the unity underlying the incredible multiplicity of Balinese temples. It must be pointed out at the very outset that certain extensive groups of temples cannot be considered here, or at best only in passing. Among these are the household temples (*sanggahs* and *pĕmĕrajans*), the smaller shrines for Dewi Mĕlanting at markets and in gardens, and the many and various temples of voluntary worship associations (*puras pĕmaksan*, *puras panti*).

### I

### *The Pattern and Design of a Temple*

Let us begin with a general description of an 'ordinary' village temple of the southern plains. In the Balinese temple it is not the buildings that are essential, but the temple ground. The ground is sacred: on a hallowed plot of land chosen by the gods the Balinese, like the early Greeks and Romans, erect buildings for those gods. The temple is not their dwelling place, however, but only a temporary residence, a lodging. At certain times they deign to descend in order to give human beings the opportunity of coming in contact with them; for this purpose offerings are needed to invite them and to receive them. The place of contact is the temple, and the time of contact the temple festival.

The temple is as a rule divided into three parts or courts: the forecourt (*jaba*), the central court (*jaba tĕngah*), and the inner court (*jĕroan*). Each of these courts has its own religious function, and contains certain buildings appropriate to that function.

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346 In one of the corners of the forecourt is the *bale kulkul*, the tower housing the split wooden block (*kulkul*) which is beaten for temple festivals and *desa* meetings, but also in case of any emergency, for instance such disasters as earthquakes, mudstorms, or the like. Like the Italian campanile, the *bale kulkul* is an object on which builders and artists can display their artistic talents. While the signal block is now made of wood, archeological finds demonstrate that in earlier times split drums of bronze were used.

Also in the forecourt is the *jinĕng*, the shed in which the rice harvested from the fields owned by the temple[1] is stored. In some temples the kitchen (*pĕwarĕgan*) and the shed where the meat for offerings is prepared (*bale paebatan*) are to be found in the forecourt, but in other temples they are in the central court, and sometimes even in the inner court. The same holds true for the various buildings for the orchestras (*bale gong* or *bale pĕgongan*, sometimes also a special *bale sĕmar pĕgulingan*, and so forth). The place for the *sĕlunding* orchestra[2] is frequently in the inner court. The essential building in the central court is the *bale agung*, the large assembly hall.[3]

In the inner court are the chapels and altars for the gods and the sheds where the offerings are prepared and arranged. There are several characteristic structures in this court. First of all there are small stone offering columns, often intended for the guardian of the ground (*taksu* or *ng*[*ĕr*]*urah*) – that is to say, the divine being who has special care over the ground. Then there are somewhat larger open *bales* for various gods. These diverge in form and construction, and have many different names: special mention may be made of the *manjangan sĕluwang*[4] with the antlers for Batara Maospait and the tripartite *bale* for the trinity (*tiga-sakti*). The largest structures are the multiple-roofed *merus*. The number of roofs (*tumpangs*) must always be uneven (occasionally one comes across a *meru* with two roofs, but such a *meru* will always be described as *tumpang ĕsa* – with one roof), and depends both on the nature of the temple and the nature of the gods worshipped in it. Not only the three gods Wisnu, Iswara, and Brahma have such *merus*, but also many mountain gods. Special mention should be

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made of the large, open stone seat for the sun god (Batara Surya or Aditya), which seat has such various names as *padmasana*, *sanggar agung*, and *sanggar tawang* (the last two terms, however, are also used for temporary platforms of bamboo intended for offerings to Batara Surya).

Besides these and other lodgings for the gods in the inner court, there are also *bales* for preparing, arranging, and displaying offerings. The individual offerings are made ready at home, but communal offerings are prepared in the temple itself, or at least put together there. The altars for offerings have a wide variety of names; the most usual are *piasan* (chiefly northern Balinese) and *panggungan* (chiefly southern). Besides these offering altars there are also structures (*pĕruman*, *pĕsamuan*) in which the gods of a temple assemble to receive offerings or to begin a procession.

A few words should be added regarding the walls and gates of the temple. Particular attention is devoted to the walls, which are an essential part of the sanctuary, since they serve to define its limits. They are often provided with columns at the corners and pilasters at intermediate points. The parts of the wall between the columns are decorated with lovely pieces of sculpture. There are at the present time two types of temple gates, the roofed *paduraksa* and the split, unroofed *chandi bĕntar*.[5]

Many northern Balinese temples deviate in one particular respect from the type of temple described above. That is in the arrangement of the inner court. Particularly the temples of the dead and the agrarian sanctuaries of northern Bali display a quite remarkable arrangement of the divine lodgings in the inner court. In front of the rear wall is an elevated section with two or three terraces. On the highest terrace there are closed stone structures (*gĕdongs*) to the left and the right, with an open stone seat between them.[6] Access to the two buildings and the seat is provided by three separate flights of stone stairs.

Besides this description of the 'ordinary' type of Balinese temple, actually the more recent type, mention should be made of several striking differences to be found in the more traditional *puras bale*

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*agung* in the mountain villages. There the limits of the temple grounds are defined by unadorned stone walls or, more often, by mere walls of clay, while even natural hedges and other shrubbery not infrequently serve as a delimitation.

Inside the temple limits there are only two courts, the *jaba tĕngah* and the *jĕroan*. What in the temples of the newer type is the forecourt, inside the wall, is in these old-style temples the open square in front of the sanctuary.

The entrance to the first court from the open square consists of two elements: one of these is a small bridge (*titi gonggang*), the other a roofed gate with benches to the right and the left (*chang apit*).[7] Both of these elements are of primary importance, since they provide the key to the whole design of the old-style Balinese temple. The temple is a reflection of the cosmos. The open square is the nether world. The bridge is the first step in the transition from the nether-worldly sphere to the upper world; then comes the gate, which is to be compared to the 'enclosing rocks' of the eschatological literature between which one has to pass after death in order to reach the upper world, 'heaven'. The temple ground as a whole then represents that 'heaven'.

Inside the temple is a second bipartite division: there is the first court, not yet completely heavenly, symbolic of the sublunary sphere (*madyapada*, the middle zone), and beyond it the second court, containing the lodgings of the gods.

Yet other differences between the traditional type of temple and the more recent type exist, and there are also naturally many intermediary forms, but these comments are perhaps sufficient to provide an impression of the two types.

This survey of the arrangement of the Balinese temple should not be concluded without a few words on the various functions of the lodgings of the gods. A distinction should be made between the *pĕlinggih* as the lodging of a god of the temple itself, the *pĕsimpangan* as the lodging of a god who is worshipped elsewhere but comes to visit this temple, and the *pĕnyawangan* as the temporary seat in what is still a provisional sanctuary.

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792 highest authority, with power over all Brahmins, even the priests.
659 For this reason there is no objection on the part of the subjects to participating in ceremonies at a temple where the ruler pays homage in his official capacity. The ruler, however, must restrict himself to paying homage to certain gods who enjoy general veneration, gods who are on a level with Surya, Siwa, Mahadewa, and the deity of Gunung Agung. Sometimes the deity worshipped has a special significance as an expression of the tie between the dynasty and the territory ruled: this is, for example, the case with the deity of Mount Pĕngelengan, which mountain dominates the chief river basins of traditional Mĕngwi.

The two mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon were not the only state temples in the former realm of Mĕngwi. Among others there were Pura Taman Ayun, in the capital of the principality, and Pura Prasada, or Sada, at Kapal, a short distance from the capital. There is also reputedly a certain link between those temples and Pura Sĕkenan on the island of Sarangan, Pura Ulun Siwi at Jimbaran, and Pura Ulu Batu on Bukit Peninsula. There was no opportunity to trace the nature and essence of this link, but it is not impossible that, since the last three temples are all of them located nearby the sea, they may be looked upon as the nether-worldly counterparts of the state temples in the mountains and at the centre of the realm.

[121] For a clarification of the conceptions underlying the notion of a state temple it would be of value for a closer study to be made of the mountain sanctuaries at Bon and Tiingan together with Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Prasada. However, during my visits there was no time to acquire more than superficial information. This was true especially as regards Pura Taman Ayun.

769 In that temple one is struck by the clear expression of the royal
792 dynasty's ancestor cult. In the inner court, in the eastern row of
346 altars, there is a large *paibon*, oriented towards the east in the usual way. As is pointed out elsewhere in these notes, the *paibon* (a brick structure containing a tripartite brick altar) plays a rôle in the worship of ancestors; at the same time it occupies a prominent

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place in clan temples. In view of the presence of this ancestor altar the sanctuary of Taman Ayun may be placed in the category of royal family temples or *pĕmĕrajans*. [769] [792] 346

In both the eastern and the northern row of altars in the inner court of the temple there are a large number of pagodas or *merus*, as well as several altars and divine lodgings of other shapes. There was no opportunity to inquire to which gods the seats are dedicated, though it was learnt that the so-called *sadkayangan* are present.

The term *sadkayangan* is used to indicate six scattered, prominent temples, though there is no agreement, either among informants or in the literature, as to which temples they are. It is sometimes said that the term indicates those temples which have made a place among their chapels for altars to the gods of the six chief temples.

According to informants at Pura Taman Ayun, the six chapels there consist of pagodas for the gods of Gunung Agung (Pura Bĕsakih), Gunung Batur (Pura Batur at Kalanganyar), Batu Kau (Pura Luhur near Wongaya Gĕde), the mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon, Pura Sĕkenan on Sarangan, Pura Ulun Siwi at Jimbaran, and Pura Ulu Batu on Bukit. In Pura Prasada at Kapal the same temples are mentioned as constituting the *sadkayangan*. [776]

In this list, however, there are not six, but eight temples. In the case of the mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon the two deities might be viewed as one entity, since they are husband and wife, but even then there are seven names mentioned in connection with the *sadkayangan*. This point would seem to require further investigation.

In the *sadkayangan* according to the Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Prasada enumeration there are five sanctuaries in the mountains and three temples on or nearby the seashore. In the former is concentrated the veneration of Bali's two great mountain clusters: the Batur–Gunung Agung complex and the Batu Kau complex. Of the second group of temples Sĕkenan and Ulu Batu are on the very shore, while Ulun Siwi is located on the narrow isthmus connecting Bukit Peninsula with the rest of Bali.

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792 The ritual in the mountain sanctuaries, especially at Pura Batur
771 and Pura Luhur, but also at Pura Bĕsakih, is closely linked with the veneration of the mountain lakes and supplication for the blessing of irrigation water. In Pura Luhur, near Wongaya Gĕde, there are altars for the gods of the mountain lakes Bratan, Buyan, and Tambĕlingan. In Pura Batur, at Kalanganyar, the veneration of Lake Batur plays an important rôle. And Pura Bĕsakih's deity of Gunung Agung, usually further identified as Mahadewa, is supplicated to make irrigation water abundant not only locally in Karangasĕm but in the most diverse regions. To mention one example, on certain holy days all Bali pays homage to Pura Bĕsakih, with holy water for the *subaks* of a whole region being requested in a few prominent temples in each region. Before the war the initiative for such a ceremony was taken by the *pĕruman kĕrtanĕgara*, the council of ruling princes, while arrangements within each region were made by the chief agricultural official.[1]

792 A second fact that attracts one's attention in Pura Taman Ayun
346 is the presence of two so-called *chandis* of red brick. The *chandis*
769 are located in the northernmost part of the inner court, the *ulu* or 'head end'. One of these *chandis* stands approximately in front of the *paibon*, the royal ancestor altar, while the second has a place in the northern row of altars. Neither of them is particularly large: their height is roughly four yards. Sometimes also called *prasada* or *lingga*, each *chandi* is a monumental profiled column. Informants at the temple were unable to provide any definite details on the significance of the *chandis*, nor could they say to which deity they were dedicated. However, it was suspected that the *chandis*, like the *paibon*, were related to the ancestor cult of the royal dynasty.

769 On Bali, of course, deified ancestors, like the gods themselves, are worshipped in various manifestations – or, to put it differently, in various stages of deification. The ordinary man, particularly, is quickly inclined to identify whole series of divine designations with one another, to declare them 'equivalent to each other'. For example, it is said that the goddess Sri is the same as Uma, Durga, Giriputri, Ibu Pĕrtiwi, and a number of others. There is a ten-

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comments above on the phenomenological significance of the ruler as the representative of cosmic power on earth, the *lingga* of the world, it is not difficult to recognize in the *chandi* the symbol of this royal attribute.

It is tempting to draw the early Javanese *chandis* and the cult of the early Javanese rulers, who were absorbed into some specific deity after their death, into the discussion. But this would lead too far afield, and it must suffice to comment that though there is agreement in essentials, there is also an important difference between the early Javanese *chandi* and the modern Balinese structure, in that the latter never serves as a final resting place for the cremated remains of a deceased person.

Aside from those in Pura Taman Ayun there are also *chandis* in Pura Prasada at Kapal and in several clan temples. It is noteworthy that *chandis* have only been found in clan temples of *ksatriyas*, and only in cases where a descent from Majapahit is claimed. In popular parlance *chandis* are comparable to *merus* of brick such as are to be found in Taman Bali, Manggis, Babi, and a number of other *desas* in Karangasĕm. A small model roughly a yard high, carved out of a single piece of stone and with a profiling that seemed much more eastern Javanese than Balinese, was found in the *pura desa* of Tistà in Karangasĕm in 1938. The largest and best known *chandi* is located in the *pĕmĕrajan* of the former ruling house of Kĕsiman.[1] We shall return below to the *chandi* in Pura Prasada.

The *chandis* in Pura Taman Ayun are not the only structures in the temple representing Siwa, and through him the eight guardians of the directions or the *nawa-sanga*. Both in the central square and in the inner court the latter are depicted in detail. At a short distance beyond the gate to the inner court there is a large pavilion of the gods on the base of which the eight guardians of the directions are depicted, and in the central square the *nawa-sanga* is represented by an ornamental column set in the middle of a low-lying pond.

The *chandis* in the inner court, the pavilion of the gods, and the monument in the pond are in a sense related to one another. The

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792 185 came to an end only in June, 1948, with the end of organized armed resistance against the Dutch on Bali.

346 The construction of the new *prasada* is also a significant fact as an architectural achievement. The work of building this eighteen-yards-high brick tower was accomplished within a period of five months. The master builder was I Made Nama, a young man of around thirty, a carpenter by profession, who had never worked with brick before. He was appointed to direct the building because he one day produced a six-feet-long draft design for the new *prasada*. According to his own statement he decided to make the design because of the fact that the desirability of restoring the *prasada* was constantly under discussion. He had formed his notions regarding the shape of the structure from statements of people who had known the original *prasada* in the period before the earthquake of 1917; the draft was revised five times before it proved to correspond to the memories of his elderly advisers.

The group of full-time workers with whom I Made Nama carried out the restoration, the *sĕka undagi* (the gild of carpenters, stonecutters, and builders), consisted entirely of people from the village itself. Only for the ornamentation and the detached statues was a specialist from elsewhere taken on to direct the work. The wages paid were significantly less than those obtaining on the open market, and hence had rather the character of a token compensation than of real wages.

Before an attempt is made to define further the position of Pura Prasada in the system of Mĕngwi state temples, some more information on the lay-out of the sanctuary is perhaps in order. For this a summary of the altars in the inner court may suffice. The temple consists of an inner court, a central court, and a forecourt. Access to the central court from outside is provided by a large split gate, whose cornice is divided into what are probably seven stories. As a result the gate has the appearance of a *meru* split in two halves. Just below the cornice there is an excellently accomplished monster's head, also divided over the two halves of the gate. A flight of twelve steps – unusually high for Bali – leads to the opening in the gate, which is some six feet above ground level.

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It has already been mentioned that at the same time the temple was rebuilt by the community, the split gate was restored by the Archeological Survey because of its historical significance. 346

The entrance to the inner court is provided by a gate of the closed type. The temple proper is oriented to the east. On inquiry I was informed that the reason for this was that the royal dynasty of Mĕngwi sprang from the dynasty of Klungkung. It is asserted that the son of Dalĕm Kĕtut of Klungkung was the first ruler of Kapal; the house of Mĕngwi, in turn, is descended from that of Kapal. In itself an eastern orientation for a temple such as Pura Prasada is hardly remarkable. The specific orientation towards Klungkung is confirmed by a specific circumstance, however.

In the eastern row of chapels there is a tripartite brick altar which, though standing on a single base, consists of three separate stone seats, with the middle one larger in size than the two others. The whole altar resembles a tripartite *sanggar agung* dedicated to the trinity Brahma–Wisnu–Iswara, Siwa–Sadasiwa–Paramasiwa, or an equivalent combination. This altar is said to be a *sungsungan pĕmaksan*, that is to say a chapel venerated and maintained by a special worship association (*pĕmaksan*). In fact, however, it is considered to be the altar for the worship of the ancestors of the royal family of Kapal, thus the descendants of Dalĕm Kĕtut. Maintenance of the altar and the performance of devotions are supposedly charged to a *pĕmaksan* – it was thought that of Pasĕk Gelgel. (Pasĕk Gelgel is the designation for an important and extensive genealogical group which, though scattered throughout Bali, forms the worship association of Pura Dalĕm Gelgel and has links with the dynasty of Samprangan–Gelgel–Klungkung.)

The following god seats and *bales* are also to be found in the inner court: in the northern row, from west to east, (1) the *bale pĕsamyangan*, a spacious two-story pavilion designed to receive divine guests from elsewhere at temple festivals and to display the various attributes of the gods and the temple such as palanquins, ceremonial lances, and parasols, (2) the altar of Sĕkenan, (3) that of Manik Galih, and (4) that of Gunung Agung and Batur (two

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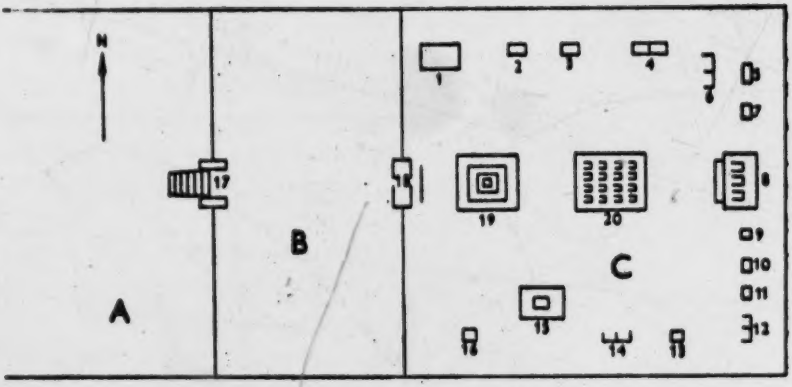


PLAN OF PURA PRASADA

A Forecourt
B Central court
C Inner court
1 *Bale pesamyangan*
2 Altar of Sĕkenan
3 Altar of Manik Galih
4 Altar of Gunung Agung and Batur
5 Altar of Gusti Ngurah Chĕluk
6 *Pĕmĕrajan*
7 Altar of Ratu Made Putrajaya
8 *Sungsungan pĕmaksan*
9 Altar of Batu Kau
10 Altar of Ratu Panji Sakti
11 *Barong* building
12 *Ratu ngĕrurah*
13 *Ratu sĕdahan*
14 *Mĕkĕl mĕsatya*
15 *Taman*
16 Altar of Tarate Bang
17 Closed gate
18 Split gate
19 *Prasada*
20 Stone seats for the *satyas*

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altars on one base); in the eastern row, from north to south, (5) 346
the altar of Gusti Ngurah Chĕluk, (6) the *pĕmĕrajan* (the royal family temple), (7) the altar of Ratu Made Putrajaya, (8) the *sungsungan pĕmaksan*, (9) the altar of Batu Kau, (10) that of Ratu Panji Sakti, (11) the *barong* building, and (12) the *ratu ngĕrurah* (two stone seats, a male and a female one, on a single base). There are also a number of altars spread around the southern part of the inner court, all of them oriented to the east. From east to west they are (13) the *ratu sĕdahan*, (14) the *mĕkĕl mĕsatya* (two seats), (15) the *taman* ('the garden with a pond'), and (16) the altar of Tarate Bang.

Looking over the row of divine names, one is struck first of all by the presence of altars for the mountain and sea temples which were also found at Tiingan and in Pura Taman Ayun. There are separate altars for Gunung Agung (4), Batur (4), Luhur or Batu Kau (9), and Sĕkenan (2), while the deity of Pura Ulun Siwi is worshipped from the *prasada* itself, and the mountain sanctuaries of Bon and Tiingan are worshipped from the pavilion of the gods (1).

Ratu Panji Sakti (10) is the prince of the Klungkung dynasty who, as ruler of Buleleng, subjugated many territories. Altars for Panji Sakti, the conqueror, are often to be found in temples, especially in Buleleng, Tabanan, upper Badung (Mĕngwi), and Bangli.[6] Further study needs to be made whether there is any relation between Panji Sakti, Ratu Made Putrajaya (7), and Ratu Sakti Jayenrat, the deity of Pura Ulun Siwi (who is worshipped in the *prasada*).

Regarding the altar for Gusti Ngurah Chĕluk (5) it should be mentioned that Chĕluk is a small village to the west of the town of Gianyar known for its silverwork. The title Gusti Ngurah Chĕluk might be translated as 'the lord ruling over Chĕluk'. It is noteworthy that there is a *pĕmĕrajan* (6) in the form of a tripartite stone *sanggar agung* in front of this chapel. Hence it may be that the ancestors of the *gusti* family of Chĕluk are worshipped in this temple.

In the southern, 'lowest' part of the inner temple there are a 346
number of altars dedicated to intercessors (11–15). Reference has 792
already been made to the *barong* (11), who as lord over the demons

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346 792 of the forest and the graveyard serves as an intermediary in combating diseases and pestilences and in black magic. The *ratu ngĕrurah* (12) and *ratu sĕdahan* (13) recur in many temples and with a great variety of designations. They are the demonic guardians of the temple grounds; vows are preferably made to these demigods. The 'pond' in Pura Prasada (15) is only symbolic, consisting of nothing more than a base on which are a large number of fragments of old statues. It has been pointed out above that the pond is the place where the *widadaris*, the celestial nymphs who maintain contact between the world of the gods and the sublunary world, disport themselves. Especially during epidemics and disasters it is the *widadaris* who inform the mortals how the upper-worldly forces which have brought misfortune upon mankind can be appeased. Then *sangyang* dances are performed with maidens clad as *widadaris* falling in trance and functioning as mediums. The remarkable fact should perhaps be mentioned that in the period after the political turmoil had been subdued in southern Badung *sangyangs* were performed night after night for months in many *banjars* of Den Pasar and a number of villages outside the town in order to 'keep the land calm'. Informants at Kapal stated that the 'pond' is also the place where dancers and *gamĕlan* players ask for blessing in connection with their profession.

Regarding the *mĕkĕl mĕsatya* (14) it can only be stated that the term is used to designate concubines of a ruler who follow their consort in death. An altar for Tarate Bang (16) is also found in Pura Puchak Tiingan and in Pura Taman Ayun; the reference is to the goddess in the temple beside Lake Bratan near Chandi Kuning. The location in the southwest corner indicates a netherworldly tendency.

A few comments with regard to the most important altar in the temple, the *prasada* itself, are now in order. The structure, facing the east, is in front of the *sungsungan pĕmaksan* (8), hence in a position similar to that of one of the *chandis* in Pura Taman Ayun in relation to the *paibon* there.

The deity for whom the *prasada* serves as a seat is Ratu Sakti Jayenrat, to whom the large *meru* in Pura Ulun Siwi is also dedi-

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cated. I am unable to identify this *ratu sakti* further at this time; the title means 'the powerful world-conqueror' and recalls that of Ratu Panji Sakti (10), who was also a great conqueror. Even so, considering the relation with Pura Ulun Siwi, located near the seashore on the isthmus separating the two bays where overseas communications were concentrated in earlier times, it is possible that further investigation may reveal some connection with the descent of the dynasty, *via* Klungkung, from Java.

As has been mentioned, a *prasada* is equivalent to a *chandi* or *lingga*, both in its intrinsic significance and its general form. We have seen that the *chandi* is related to the ancestor cult of ruling families and gives expression to the veneration of deified ancestors in the aspect of the eight guardians of the cosmos. The link with ancestor worship is present in Kapal in the *pĕmĕrajan;* but the association with the *nawa-sanga* is demonstrated in the statues adorning the body of the *prasada*, which represent the eight guardians of the directions ranged around Siwa in the centre.

This has been done in the following fashion: around the body of the temple two series of detached statues have been placed on two different levels. The upper series depicts the eight guardians oriented to the eight directions in the traditional way: Wisnu (north), Sambu (northeast), Iswara (east), Maheswara (southeast), Brahma (south), Rudra (southwest), Mahadewa (west), and Sangkara (northwest).

The difficulty in depicting Siwa as the centre and the source of the eight emanations has been solved by giving the deity a seat in the cornice on the west side, above the statue of Mahadewa. Since the temple is oriented towards the east devotions are paid facing that direction. Hence the west side of the *prasada* is the front, and there a shallow niche is provided where the deity descends to his temporary residence on earth during holy days and where the object within which the god embodies himself (for example a sandalwood effigy) can be placed.

It is worthy of note that the essence of the *nawa-sanga*, represented by the trinity, has been given expression on the east side. Above the statue of Iswara placed there as the lord over the east are

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346 792 representations of Brahma on his mount, a goose, and Wisnu on the Garuda. Reference has already been made to the trinity Brahma–Wisnu–Iswara as an abbreviated form of the *nawa-sanga*. On a slightly lower level are placed the seven celestial seers, the *saptarĕsi*, the most prominent of whom are Wĕrhaspati and Narada. The seven statues, also detached, are arranged according to the directions, beginning with the northwest and running *via* the north to the southwest. The priestly row is interrupted in the west, where the niche is located.

The placing of the statues of the *nawa-sanga* and the *saptarĕsi*, and their sculpturing with the proper hand positions and attributes, took place under the auspices of Pĕdanda Gĕde Anom Manuaba, a member of the Countr of Kĕrta at Tabanan.

Although Pura Prasada at the moment has the *desa* of Kapal as its worship association, which is to say that it is cared for by the *desa* community, it cannot be considered as one of the village sanctuaries in the strict sense. As is known, the normal system of village temples consists of the *pura pusĕh*, the *pura bale agung*, and the *pura dalĕm*. The possession of these three sanctuaries is the mark of a consolidated *desa* community, or, to put it differently, the *desa* community is formed by the worship group of the three temples. Aside from these three obligatory temples the vast majority of village communities also have other sanctuaries which they venerate for the most diverse reasons.

792 771 The *pura pusĕh* has to do with the worship of ancestors in their aspect of deified first settlers and lords over the soil, while in the *pura bale agung* the rites are particularly for the founders of the social order, and the *pura dalĕm* is closely linked with the graveyard. Rites in the *pura pusĕh* are essentially a part of the worship of the celestial gods; those in the *pura dalĕm* of the exorcism of nether-worldly forces. In the *pura bale agung* both sorts of veneration are to be found in a functional relationship: the inner court is more especially devoted to the worship of gods of the upper world, and the nether-worldly cult is located primarily in the forecourt.

The question arises to what extent a parallel can be drawn between the three-temple system essential to the *desa* organization

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575 given the same sort and amount of assistance in return when the opportunity presents itself.

## 5

### *The Temples in the Banjar of Tĕgal*

718 Besides Pura Pĕmayun there are three other temples in the *banjar*
575 of Tĕgal: Pura Pĕnyĕti, Pura Made, and Pura Pĕnaung. Of the four, however, Pura Pĕmayun is the only one to be an object of worship for the whole *banjar*.

Pura Pĕnyĕti is an association temple. Like Pura Pĕmayun it has a *pĕmaksan* and a *pĕsaren*, but the two groups bear all the costs of worship in the temple, and the *banjar* as such is not linked to it in any way. Even so *banjar* members go voluntarily to Pura Pĕnyĕti to perform their devotions. The anniversary of the temple falls on Wednesday-Umanis in the week of Pĕrangbakat.

794 The worship associations of Pura Made and Pura Pĕnaung are
718 even more restricted. These sanctuaries, though not strictly family temples, are only venerated by a few families. There is no tradition regarding the way in which these relationships originated. The family of Jĕro Mangku Nurasih cares for Pura Made, and that of Mangku Surata for Pura Pĕnaung. In each case the members of the family are called the 'subjects of the deity'. The *odalan* or anniversary of Pura Made is celebrated on Wednesday-Klion in the week of Sinta, and that of Pura Pĕnaung on Tumpĕk Landĕp (Saturday-Klion of Landĕp). No one except relatives of the 'subjects of the deity' performs devotions in either of the temples.

The many household temples and the various family and clan temples in the *banjar* of Tĕgal may be omitted from discussion here.

## 6

### *The Temple Grounds of Pura Pĕmayun*

792 The temple of Pĕmayun is located approximately in the centre of
346 the *banjar* of Tĕgal, on the side of the built-up area lying towards the mountains. This southern side is the *kaja* side of the residential

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area. The temple's main orientation is to the east, but eleven of the fifteen altars are facing *kaja*. The temple grounds consist of a forecourt and an inner court. A split gate gives access to the first part of the sanctuary, and a covered gate to the second. In the eastern part of the forecourt, inside a separate wall, there are two small buildings used as kitchens, and the *paon jambangan*, the 'fireplace where the large frying pans are used', in the northwest corner of the forecourt also serves as a kitchen. The men prepare meat dishes in the *bale pebatan*.

Noteworthy are the offering columns flanking the gate to the inner court, dedicated to Ratu Ngurah Dĕmang and Ratu Ngurah Dĕmung. The two columns are not especially different either in form or in location from the seats of gate guardians to be found everywhere. However, the designations Ratu Dĕmang and Ratu Dĕmung have never been recorded anywhere else. According to Van der Tuuk[4] the *dĕmang* and *dĕmung* are functionaries of the ruler charged with arresting criminals. If on the basis of this definition the *ratus* Dĕmang and Dĕmung can be conceived of as servants, disciples, and confidants of the deity of the temple, a comparison might for example be made with the intercessors called *jĕro nyoman* or *jĕro wayan* to be found in many temples in Tabanan and the *dewas pĕnulisan* in Pura Tĕgĕh Koripan at Sukawana and in many other upper Bangli temples, who have the task of functioning as intermediary deities between god and man.

It is strange that Ratu Dĕmang and Ratu Dĕmung are said to be husband and wife. In the discussion of the *baris dĕmang* association below it will appear that the *baris* dancers, exclusively men, are divided in two groups, the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs*. But there may be more sense to the assertion that the divine beings are husband and wife than seems plausible at first sight. Particularly on Nusa Pĕnida this sort of thing is a frequent phenomenon: there are temple gates which are called male and female, and the different genders of gates, offering columns, and *sanggarans* find expression in architectural details.

The *bale pangĕnĕm* in the inner court of Pura Pĕmayun serves for the arrangement of offerings, some of which are also presented to

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the gods from this *bale*. As was said above, the *pangĕnĕm* is also the place were the women's association meets every full moon. It is unusual for the pavilion of the gods, where the most important offerings are arranged when they are presented to all the gods together, to be located on the *kauh* side.

The altars are dominated in size and significance by the brick chapel of Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji. To judge from the name, the goddess derives from the village of Panji lying to the southwest. The four altars in the eastern row that are oriented towards the east are all dedicated to goddesses; the deities in all the other altars are male.

Very striking is the form of the lotus-seat placed under a roof on a high base. A roof over a lotus-seat is to the Balinese something of an anomaly, because of the seat's association with the upper-worldly gods, especially Surya and Siwa. In Pura Pĕmayun the lotus-seat is for Dewa Gĕde Sakti Bayu. This deity is said to be the oldest one in Pura Pĕmayun; because he resides in a lotus-seat even *pĕdandas* are willing to pay him homage.

It is not known what the relation may be between the name of Pura Pĕmayun and that of Dewa Ngurah Putu Pĕmayun; contrary to what might be expected, he does not occupy a prominent place in the temple.

In front of the altar of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar there is an egg-shaped stone about a foot long set on a square column. This stone is called a *lingga*. On the northeast side of it there is a small stone statue with an inconspicuous phallus, and beneath it on the ground a smaller cylinder-shaped stone. It is believed that the *lingga* is an attribute of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar.

The word *lingga*, borrowed from Sanskrit, is well known on Bali, without there necessarily being any Çiwaitic reminiscence to it except in the official priestly circles of the *pĕdandas*. The crude stone columns to be found particularly in temples in the highlands, and almost always serving as seats for purely Balinese gods, are also called *linggas*, though *taulan* is a more common designation. The word *pralingga*, used to designate a temporary lodging for a deity during a temple ceremony, is a combination of *lingga*

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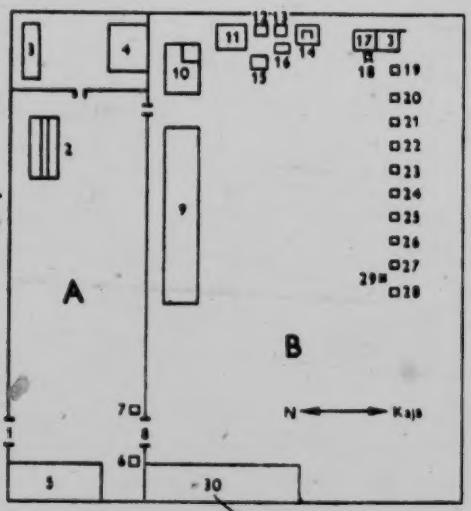


PLAN OF PĚMAYUN TEMPLE

A Forecourt
B Inner court
1 Split gate
2 *Bale pasbatan*
3 Kitchen
4 Kitchen
5 *Paon jambangan*
6 Offering column for Ratu Ngurah Dĕmung
7 Offering column for Ratu Ngurah Dĕmang
8 Covered gate
9 *Bale pangĭnĕm*
10 Pavilion of the gods
11 Chapel of Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji
12 Altar of Dewa Ayu Mas Mĕngilo
13 Altar of Dewa Ayu Mas Kumĕrinching
14 Altar of Dewa Ayu Ngurah
15 *Panggungan sĭkar* of the *banjar*
16 *Panggungan sĭkar* of the *pĕmaksan*
17 Lotus-seat of Dewa Gĕde Sakti Bayu
18 Altar of Dewa Taksu Bungkeh Karang
19 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Arak Api
20 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Made Agung
21 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Putu Pĕmayun
22 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Maniking Taman
23 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Puchuking Angin
24 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Bĕbarĕt
25 Altar of Dewa Bagus Manik Mas
26 Altar of Dewa Bagus Sĕmara Sĕkar
27 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Bagus Mas Kĕchita
28 Altar of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar
29 *Lingga*
30 *Bale pĭgongan*

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it would be superfluous because of the help that turned up from elsewhere.

Not only did Jayaprana see to all the necessaries, but he also gave constant guidance to the festival by means of trances. As a result the influence of the *pĕdandas* was limited. They performed their ceremonies according to the prescripts, but they could not keep the festival within the bounds of an ordinary cremation. In this case they accepted without protest the fact that the festivities ultimately resulted in serious caste violations.

### THE FOUR CEREMONIES

It was formally announced by the *desa* that the four following ceremonies would be held: (*a*) 1 August, 1949 – the 'awakening' of the dead person (the procession to Chĕluk Tĕrima to open the grave and remove the remains); (*b*) 6 August – the purification; (*c*) 11 August – the homage; (*d*) 12 August – the cremation.

Before relating something of these four ceremonies a description may be given of the site where the three last-mentioned ceremonies were held.

Several buildings were erected in the centre of the village, where there is a large cockpit. Everything was completely covered with paper and cotton cloth so that the assembly of temporary buildings was totally white.

The tower in which the *adĕgan*, the effigy of the dead person, was to be borne to the place of cremation had seven roofs, which is a caste privilege.[9] In addition a *padmasana* – the lotus-seat on which *pĕdandas* are carried to the place of cremation – was built.[10]

The cockpit was extended to provide a large covered space where the guests could deposit their offerings and where at the same time they could stay themselves. A kind of chapel consisting of three parts was built next to it. The offerings for the demons were placed on the ground at the chapel's unroofed entrance, where the small elevated bamboo platform from which the *pĕdanda* directed his prayers also stood. Then there was a covered part of the chapel in which those who had tendered their offerings worshipped and received holy water. This second part of the chapel adjoined

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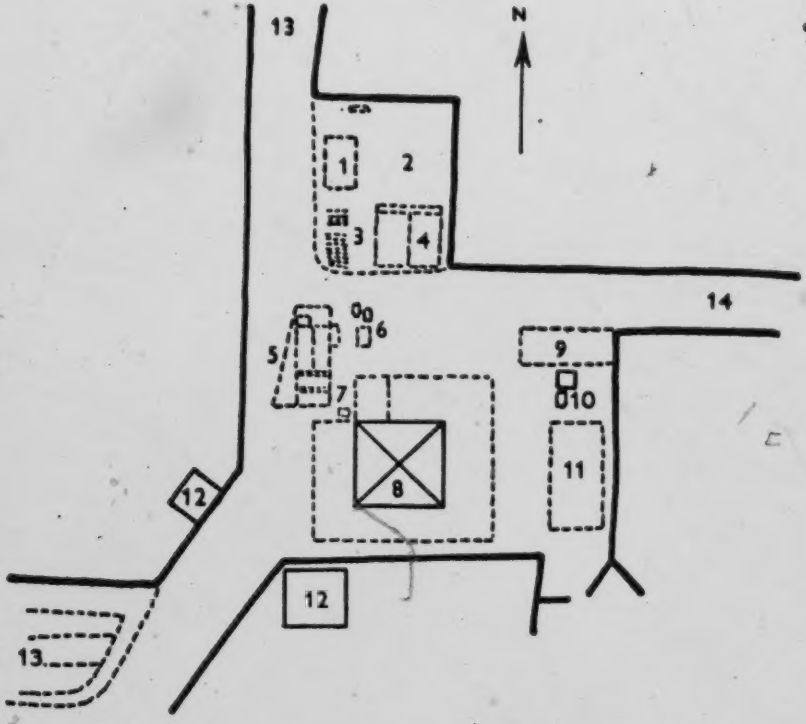


FESTIVAL SITE IN THE CENTRE OF KALIANGĔT

1 *Gamélan*
2 Equipment for the cremation
3 Cremation tower
4 Cash desk
5 Chapel
6 Altar of Surya
7 Altar of Batara Pura Bĕsakih
8 Cockpit
9 *Warong*
10 Signal block and water container
11 Shed for preparation of offerings
12 *Warong* for prominent guests
13 Kitchen
14 Entry
15 Exit

(Temporary structures are indicated by broken lines.)

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the niche in which the symbols of Jayaprana and Layona Sir were to be found, the *bale bandung*.

To the east of this chapel was an altar for Surya, the sun god, and one for the deity of Pura Bĕsakih. To the southwest large kitchens and dining spaces were built; further eastwards there was a big shed in which the offerings were prepared, and to the north a kind of cash desk where gifts could be made. A place was reserved for the *gamĕlan* and for dancing, and also for the various palanquins and so forth. The cow served as the cremation animal.[11]

For several months there was great activity in Kaliangĕt. In the first place, the offerings had to be renewed each day. Groups of women under the direction of the *tukang bantĕn*, the woman expert in the preparation of offerings, occupied themselves with making the offerings for the entrance to the *desa*, all holy objects, the *kalas* or demons at different places, the deity of Pura Bĕsakih, Surya, the effigies of Jayaprana, the water casks and the places where holy water was drawn, the distant worshipping places, and so forth.

Then there were guests who, in continually greater numbers, came with offerings prepared at home. These deposited their offerings in the cockpit and then made a pilgrimage through the *desa*, beginning at the chapel of Jayaprana. The offerings prepared under the guidance of the *tukang bantĕn*, as well as those brought along by the guests, were made entirely according to custom: the daily offerings of baskets filled with all kinds of ingredients; the special cremation offerings, in customary fashion placed near the symbols of the body (and themselves partly meant as symbols of the dead person); and the offerings brought from elsewhere, built up high on a banana stem and carried on the head in a silver bowl.[12]

Once the *desa*'s intentions and its initial preparations became known, a stream of visitors began which kept up until after the cremation day. A group of folk in a *desa* would conceive the idea of going to Kaliangĕt, then they would endeavour to get transport or, failing that, would resolve to go on foot. Scores of parties

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the village records. The ceremonial swings used at certain annual festivals are also kept in the *bale agung*, which is decorated with pig's skulls. It should moreover be mentioned that all *desa* members are required to sleep in the *bale agung* for three nights each in the first (Kasa) and the fifth (Kalima) month and one night in the tenth month (Kadasa), at which time the *dewa pusĕh* resides there. The rice from the village *sawahs* is kept in a separate granary.

To the north of the *bale agung* is the *bale kulkul*, where the village's signal block hangs. To the east of the pavilion's north end are the *sanggah uduan*, an offering niche overshadowed by a white frangipane tree (*jĕpun*), and nearby it the *bale* (*pĕ*)*kĕncha*, the 'courthouse'. To the west of the southern end is a spacious kitchen (*paon*) and pantry (*gĕdong paon*).

In a large number of Balinese *desas* the *bale agung* is located inside or in front of the *pura desa*, which is frequently joined together with the *pura pusĕh*. This is not the case in Tĕnganan, but the fact that the *bale agung* is also sometimes called *pusĕh* indicates that the pavilion forms a single unit with the *pura pusĕh*, even though the former is inside the southern gate of the village, while the latter is in the woods beyond the northern *desa* gate.

The temple which is most important in the eyes of the people after the *bale agung* and the *pura pusĕh* is clearly the *pura pĕkuwon*. It is located just outside the southern *desa* gate and contains the shrines of origin of the various *desa* classes. In this connection it is interesting to note that there are four village *paibons* or *dadias*, in the northwest, the southwest, the southeast, and the northeast. In the rest of Bali *paibon* is another name for the shrine of origin of a clan, but no one seems to know what origin these four *paibons* in Tĕnganan commemorate.[2]

There are a number of other temples with various names: the *pura pĕnataran*, *pura mĕlayu*, *pura gaduh*, *pura pĕtung*, *pura pĕngulon swarga*, *pura rajapurana*, and so forth. The *pura dalĕm*, like the *pura pĕngakan luh*, is merely an offering platform of river stone. The *pura pudak* and *pura bale bang*, though lying within the *desa* territory of Tĕnganan, belong to the inhabitants of the neighbouring

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*desa* of Ngis. The *pura anyĕr* or 'new temple', the residence of Batara Dalĕm Pĕngastulan, to the north of the *pura pusĕh* in the woods, is likewise a place of worship for persons from Ngis, as is the *pura pusĕh*.

The *desa* also has several bathing places, of which the *kaja-kauh* one and the one in the Pandĕk River are of importance from a religious point of view. The pen for the sacrificial buffaloes is beside the *kaja-kauh* bathing place.

### THE BANJAR

The second territorial legal community is the *banjar*, which in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan is not an association competing with the *desa* in importance, as it is in the rest of southern Bali, but on the contrary is largely subordinated to the *desa* and in its service. Within Tĕnganan proper there are three *banjars*, Kauh, Tĕngah, and Pande. The *banjar* of Tĕngah is divided into two wards, Tĕngah Kĕlodan and Tĕngah Kajanan. The boundaries are determined by the *desa* sidestreets. Whereas the *desa* has the form of an association with a varying but restricted number of members, the *banjar* includes all inhabitants.

The task of the *banjar*, like that of the *desa*, is partly religious and partly secular. The *banjars* must see to it that the great *usaba* festivals of the *desa* take place in an orderly way, and in that regard they must follow all the commands of the *desa*. Moreover the *banjars* make their own offerings in the *bales banjar*, which are not assembly halls as in the rest of southern Bali, since the *banjars* do not hold meetings in the village proper.

Other tasks of the *banjars* are the cleansing of the *desa*, especially the water conduits (the whole *desa* is cleaned up for the *usaba* in the month of Kalima) and the maintenance of the streets and inclines. The proponents of the theory that the *banjar* was originally nothing more nor less than a cremation association find no support for their hypothesis in Karangasĕm, where there are a large number of *banjars* with members who do not practise cremation. The property of the *banjars* consists of their buildings, offering requisites, and small sums in cash.

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relationship between the *gamĕlan sĕlunding* and Batara Maospait (see Spies, "Fest", 234; Boekian, "Kajoebii", 128 ff.).

5 See above, p. 86. Apparently some young language purists in southern Bali nowadays speak of *chandi gibah* or *chandi sibak* instead of *chandi bĕntar*.

6 Sometimes there are three *gĕdongs*: this is the case not only in the *sanggahs* of the village of Sukawana, but also in the two famous temples Pura Beji of Sangsit and Pura Maduwe Karang of Kubutambahan. This would seem to warrant the tentative conclusion that the *gĕdongs* form a survival of a very old, widespread sun cult such as is also to be encountered in the Maya antiquities of Mexico. In this system the central structure, which must be open, is that of the sun god, and the two closed structures (*gĕdongs*) are those of the ancestors, divided into males and females. This hypothesis is lent support by the fact that such structures are still to be found in many *puras dalĕm* and agricultural temples in the region of Buleleng. An architectural argument in favour of the hypothesis may be seen in the three separate flights of stairs (*undag*) interrupting the stone-terrace (*pangka*) construction. In Buleleng nowadays the terraces, stairs, and *gĕdongs* are together called *bĕbataran*. In Muntig, in Karangasĕm, there is a similar sanctuary with terraces (*pangkĕd*) and three flights of stairs (*tragtag*) but with three *merus* on the highest terrace.

7 On the meaning of *titi gonggang* and *chang apit*, see above, p. 86; and Grader, "Tweedeeling", 58.

8 On the distinction between the already-purified *pitaras* and the not-yet-purified *piratas*, see above, pp. 84, 377 nn. 11 & 12.

9 The god of the dead is also venerated in the *pura dalĕm*, sometimes conceived of as a male deity, Batara Gĕde Dalĕm, sometimes (more in keeping with Hindu tradition) as the female Batari Durga, while there is moreover occasional mention of a married couple. All this is also linked up with Balinese conceptions of the relationship between death and fertility. The view is generally prevalent that there are a number of manifestations of Durga. In her favourable aspect she is often called Uma, whereas Durga represents her unfavourable aspect. (For the horrible aspect of Durga-mahisa-asuramardini, as portrayed in the image in the temple of Bukit Darma in the village of Buruan [now called Kutri], an image which at the same time commemorates Erlangga's mother, see Stutterheim, *Oudheden*, I, 127 and Plate 27.) Present-day Balinese believe that Durga may manifest herself as Rangda, but that she is bound in and to the *pura dalĕm*.

10 In northern Bali *pura bĕdugul* is used as a synonym of *pura subak*.

11 The Sanskrit word *utsawa* means beginning, enterprise, but also holiday or holy day. Some temples distinguish one *odalan* every two hundred ten days and one *usaba* every twelve lunar months. There are also other possible combinations: Pura Kĕhĕn of Bangli, for example, has its *odalan* on Pagorsi (Wednesday-Klion in the week of Sinta) and besides a three-yearly *usaba* on the full moon in the month of Kalima.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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462 munists of Tenganan go to the plantation only to make tuak, beer
[273] from sugar palms.

On the way down the hill, I was allowed a glimpse of the sacred
778 temple of Tenganan, of which we had heard mysterious reports. It was a small enclosure under a great banyan tree surrounded by a low wall of uncut stones roughly piled up. Inside were a few mounds of the same stones, reminiscent of altars, and in one of them there was a larger stone with what appeared to be a natural
[609] cavity. I could not go into the enclosure because no outsider is ever permitted to enter it. I-Tanggú could not divulge the purpose of such a primitive "temple" and could not even name the deities worshipped there, but he added mysteriously that there were three of them! It seems extraordinary that this pile of stones is the only sacred, "essential" place of worship for the Tenganans, who are expert carvers and fine artists.[8]

Just outside the village I had seen a regular Balinese-style
184 temple with fine roofs and elaborate carvings, but this, I-Tanggú
346 said with contempt, did not mean much to them and was more
778 for the use of their Balinese guests and coolies, perhaps as a concession to the official cult of the island, so that they would not be considered as savages, people without a "proper" temple.

[184] [8] This extraordinary village must not, however, be taken as a typical Bali Aga community. Tenganan was deliberately cut off from the natural development of the rest of Bali and remains today a unique, rabidly conservative, and strictly tribal community that seems to take pride in doing things "differently," even from the rest of the Bali Agas. Institutions that are the very essence of Balinese culture, such as the shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*), are unknown, while others are even forbidden. Many rites and festivals peculiar to Tenganan do not exist elsewhere.

[771] Dr. E. V. Korn has made an exhaustive study of the Tenganan people (*De doorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*), but their religious concepts remain obscure, perhaps even to the Tenganans themselves. Like the other Balinese they worship the Gunung Agung and rule their life by the eternal principle of orientation—high and low, right and left. They venerate shapeless stones (*batú menurun*), considered to be the fragments of the famous horse of Outjé Seraya, stones that are the symbols of "origin" of totemic groups that are sharply divided into "right" and "left." The people of Tenganan were influenced by distorted ideas from an early
[771] version of pre-Madjapahit Hinduism and have a vague notion of the Hindu Trinity, headed, however, by Indra, generally a minor deity, who is to the Tenganans the same as Siwa-Iswara, the supreme god, "Lord of the Centre," with the kubu (home) of "Sanghyang" (Brahma) at the right and that of "Idjeng" (Wisnu) at the left. One of their lonely temples, or, rather, tabooed enclosures, is supposedly the reflection on this earth of the heavenly lake of Indra.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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623 574 pitara, to join in the banquet. With a clear voice he called: "*Kakí! Kakí!* Grandfather! Grandfather!" followed by the formula of invitation. Then he took his seat again at the head of the council, by the side of the little raised wooden throne dedicated to the village forefathers. Then everybody relaxed, breaking the tense silence; they discussed village affairs, the improvements of the temple, the coming feast, and gossiped for a while before wrapping the remaining rice in banana leaves to take home.

621 [182] [769] The ceremony was a clear example of the religious significance of the social organization of the village; the close relationship between the cult of the ancestors and the administration of the community. A Balinese village is a self-contained, independent community, a little republic ruled by a council of representative villagers (*krama desa*), in which everyone has equal rights and obligations. The independent village is called a *desa*, a term we shall employ to designate the legal, "complete" village that has the three reglementary temples: (1) the civil temple (*pura desa*), where the main celebrations are held and where the *balé agung* is located; (2) the temple of "origin" (*pura puséh*, the "navel"), the ancient shrine of the earlier days of the community, dedicated to the symbolical patriarch-founder of the village; and (3) the temple of the dead (*pura dalem*), out in the cemetery.

[346] [778]

Such a village is economically and politically independent of all others, except for a curious relation of blood. It often happens [769] that various neighbouring villages are united by a strong bond into an association of related villages which worship a common original ancestor and with a common temple of "origin," located in the oldest village of the group, which they recognize as a "head" or "mother" village. From this it is supposed that the other villages sprung, and when they grew became independent. Such village associations co-operate with one another by sending offerings and representatives to the temple feasts of the other desas.

621 778 623 Just as the temple of origin is the shrine of the Great Ances-

[i.e., a monthly banquet of village council of elders. -Analyst]

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most of the night was spent watching cockfights, plays, and dances.

Most important of *bandjar* property is a little communal temple (*pamaksan*). If the *bandjar* grows beyond the function of village quarters, or "ward," its *pamaksan* temple may become a temple of "origin"; then they will build their formal village temple (*pura desa*), their temple of the dead, out in the cemetery, and, having the three reglementary temples (*kahyangan tiga*) that every complete community needs, they will ask for independence from the village and will become a full-fledged free *desa*.

In the old mountain villages the *desa* system has remained untouched by the influence of the princes. Before the advent of the Dutch, they controlled their states through district landlords, the Pungawas, usually members of the prince's family, who appointed lesser tax-collectors, the Perbekel, one in every village. A Perbekel ruled only with the interest of his master in mind, often disregarding the local *adat*, with the result that he was regarded as an intruder and remained a complete outsider in the affairs of the village. Thus the system was saved because these agents had to be content with collection of taxes and the enforcement of princely orders. But the Balinese could always find regulations to curtail the power of the princes, and if their demands interfered too much with traditional institutions, the people simply boycotted them and refused to obey.

Following the conquest of Bali, the Dutch found the *desas* divided into many small spheres of influence: the princes, the *desa* chiefs, *bandjar* heads, and so forth. In the hasty reorganization of the political system they centralized the Government for control of the complex conglomerate of *desas*, logically enough, following the system of the princes, creating Government districts headed by Dutch officials assisted by the former landlords. They preserved the prince (Regent), the Pungawa, and the Perbekel to see that the taxes were paid. Finding the *desa-bandjar* relationship incompatible with Western management, they re-

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342 of the materials employed, the workmanship, and of course in the larger and richer family temple. The fundamental plan is based on the same rules for everyone. Only the great palace (*puri*) of the local ruling prince is infinitely more elaborate, with a lily pond, compartments for the Radja's brothers and his countless wives, a great temple divided into three courts, and even special [841] sections for the preservation of the corpses and for the seclusion of "impure" palace women during the time of menstruation.

The household of Gedog, our next-door neighbour in Bela- 351 luan, was typical; the place of honour, the higher "north-east" 346 corner of the house towards the mountain,[1] was occupied by the 778 *sanggah kemulan*, the family temple where Gedog worshipped his ancestors. The *sanggah* was an elemental version of the formal village temple: a walled space containing a number of little empty god-houses and a shed for offerings. The main shrine, dedicated to the ancestral souls, was a little house on stilts divided into three compartments, each with a small door. There were other small shrines for the two great mountains – the Gunung Agung and Batur – and for the *taksú* and *ngrurah*, the "interpreter" and "secretary" of the deities. In Gedog's house the altars were of bamboo with thatch roofs, but in the home of Gusti's uncle, the noble judge who lived across the road, the family shrine was as elaborate as the village temple, with a moat, carved stone gates, brick altars, and expensive roofs of sugar-palm fibre. Such a temple is not a modest *sanggah*, but receives the more impressive name of *pameradjan*. Noble people pay special attention to the shrine for the deer-god Mendjangan [825] Seluang, the totemic animal of the descendants of Madjapahit, the Javanese masters of Bali.

342 Next in importance to the temple was the *uma metén*, the sleeping-quarters of Gedog and his wife, built towards the moun-

[361] [823] [1] Endless ill luck would follow whoever ignored the laws of rank and built a dwelling at a level higher than a temple. The Balinese have resented the building of a Government rest-house on a hill above the holy temple of Tirta Empul in Tampaksiring, and our servant Pugog insisted he could not bring his wife to Tjampuan because the temple across the ravine was at a lower level than the house, and intercourse with a woman there could only result in a catastrophe.

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Balinese, making it possible for them to give full vent to their naïve delight in covering all available space with decoration.

The stone is cut and shaped with adzes, directly on the spot where it is quarried, and made into blocks of various sizes according to requirements. For the large statues of demons that guard the entrance of temples, the great block of paras is roughly shaped to resemble its ultimate form, and when it is considered that enough surplus stone has been removed, it is carried to its destination on stretchers of bamboo — not an easy task, since the quarries are generally at the bottom of deep ravines. I have seen as many as fifteen men struggling up a narrow and slippery path with a great block of stone. The schematic mass of the future devil is placed where it is to remain and is finished on the site.

The blocks of stone for construction are put together without mortar, but it is essential for the stability of the building that the joints should have a perfect fit. This is accomplished by rubbing the two stones together, wearing their surfaces down with great quantities of water. The same process is employed to join baked brick. In this manner the building rises slowly, the workmen protected from the sun by shades made of the woven leaves of the coconut palm and a considerable period of time often elapses before a new temple is finished. The alternate masses of red brick and sandstone are carved last, often leaving the roughly shaped masses of stone for years without decoration.

The stone-carvers follow definite rules when they begin to cover a temple or a palace gate with decoration. For instance, there should be a *karang tjewiri* over the gate, the face of a leering monster with a hanging tongue and long canines. On less important spots the central motif of a pattern is a *karang bintulu*, a curiously popular design consisting of a single bulging eye over a row of upper teeth, the canines of which are developed into fangs, surmounted by the representation of a mountain. To finish a corner there is a special motif, a *karang tjuring*, the upper part of a bird's beak, also provided with a single eye and pointed

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346 teeth. For the same purpose there is a variation of this same
531 motif, a *karang astí*, the jawless head of an elephant. The word *karang* means a reef, a rock, but it also is the word for setting jewels or for a flower arrangement. It has been attempted to
[114] give these ornaments an esoteric religious meaning (according to Nieuwenkamp), the representation of the souls of inanimate objects — rocks, mountains, plants — of which they form a part; when a Balinese was pressed to explain why they did not have

*Karang Bintulu* chiselled on the Silver Sheath of a Kris

lower jaws, he replied that it was because they did not have to
[522] eat solid food! This is, in my opinion, a typical Balinese wisecrack and not an indication of any such symbolical meaning.

[171] These motifs are the starting-point for the intricate volutes, leaves, flowers, flaming motifs, and so forth, strongly reminiscent of those used in ancient Java, but also found in Siam, Cambodia, and even in the objects of the Dyaks of Borneo, a people uninfluenced by Hinduistic art. All-over patterns are called *karang*, while the carved borders in the mouldings are named *patra*, of which there is a *patra olanda* (from the Portuguese word for Holland?) and a *patra tjina*, a "Chinese border." Here and there small panels are carved with representations of episodes from their literature: animals from the *tantri* stories, the Balinese Æsop's fables; suggestive scenes from the *Ardjuna Wiwaha* in which the nymphs of heaven make passionate love to Ardjuna

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while he is in deep meditation; or a battle from the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata*, with comic scenes in which the retainers of the heroes, the clowns *Twálen* and *Délam*, wrestle and bite each other.

The Southern style of architecture (Badung, Gianyar, Tabanan, Bangli, Klungkung) is characterized by masses of red brick relieved by intricately carved ornaments in grey sandstone

*Karang Tjeiviri* and *Karang Tjuring*

in a considerably more restrained style than that of the North of the island (Buleleng), where it breaks out into a gaudy riot of gingerbread decoration in a stone so soft that travellers have mistaken it for sun-dried mud. The gates of a North Balinese temple are tall and slender, with a flaming, ascendant tendency as if trying to liberate themselves from the smothering maze of sculptured leaves and flowers, out of which peer, here and there, grotesque faces and blazing demons, their shape almost lost in the flames that emanate from their bodies.

The North Balinese take their temples lightly and often use the wall spaces as a sort of comic strip, covering them with openly humorous subjects: a motor-car held up by a two-gun bandit, seen undoubtedly in some American Western in the movie house of Buleleng; a mechanic trying to repair the breakdown of a car full of long-bearded Arabs; two fat Hollanders

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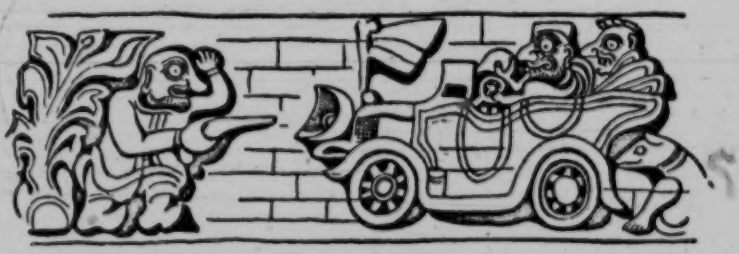
346 531 [831] [522] drinking beer; a soldier raping a girl; or a man on a bicycle with two great flowers for wheels. Fantastic pornographic subjects are always a source of hilarious comedy and in many temples in both North and South Bali such subjects are found as temple decorations. As if the mad tangle of stone vegetation were not enough, in North Bali they outline the decorations with white paint to make them even more conspicuous, and in villages like Babetin, Ringdikit, and Djagaraga the overpowering decoration



A Hold-up, a Temple Relief in Djagaraga

is painted in bright blue, red, and yellow, giving as a result the wildest and most unrestrained effects.

322 532 The art of wood-carving has suffered a curious transformation since our first visit to Bali in 1930. Then the majority of the objects carved in wood were made for utilitarian purposes: from carved doors and beams for houses, musical instruments, masks for dramatic shows, handles for implements, to little statues of deities and other ritual accessories. These were of the conventional contemporary Balinese style: flowers and curlicues in high relief for flat surfaces (*ukiran*), and for sculpture in the round (*togog*), statues of divinities, demons, and other characters of mythology dressed in classical attire and profusely ornamented. Furthermore, all wood-carvings were meant to be covered with paint, lacquer, or goldleaf and only in exceptional cases was the wood left in its raw state. There were unusual pieces, but they 532 were freaks among the predominant styles.

322 439 Travellers had started to buy Balinese carvings, however, and

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on our return to Bali three years later, the Balinese sculptors were turning out mass-production "objets d'art" for tourists. Even before arriving in Bali for the second time, we found the curio-shops of Macassar and Java filled with statuettes of a decidedly commercial style which was totally new to us. Before this we had made acquaintance with Gusti Ngurah Gedé, an old man of Pemetjutan rated among the best sculptors of South Bali. Although Gusti Gedé was so old that he talked with difficulty,

Relief in the Temple of Kubutambahan

he could carve the most delicate motifs in hard wood with a precision and sureness envied by the younger sculptors. He had started to make realistic little statues of nude girls, bathing, combing their hair, or in the process of undressing, masterfully carved out of a fine-grained white wood, figures that found ready sale among travellers. This was perhaps the beginning of a new art in which the sculptor began working for a new public: tourists who had little appreciation of the technical perfection demanded by the Balinese, or foreign artists who preferred line and form to intricate ornamentation.

This necessarily introduced the mercenary element into Balinese art, until then non-existent; prices were boosted and the sculptor suddenly became aware that there was a good income in making statues. On the other hand, this same condition gave

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Contemporary Statues used as temple decorations

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Temple reliefs from North Bali

[P.202 (F)]

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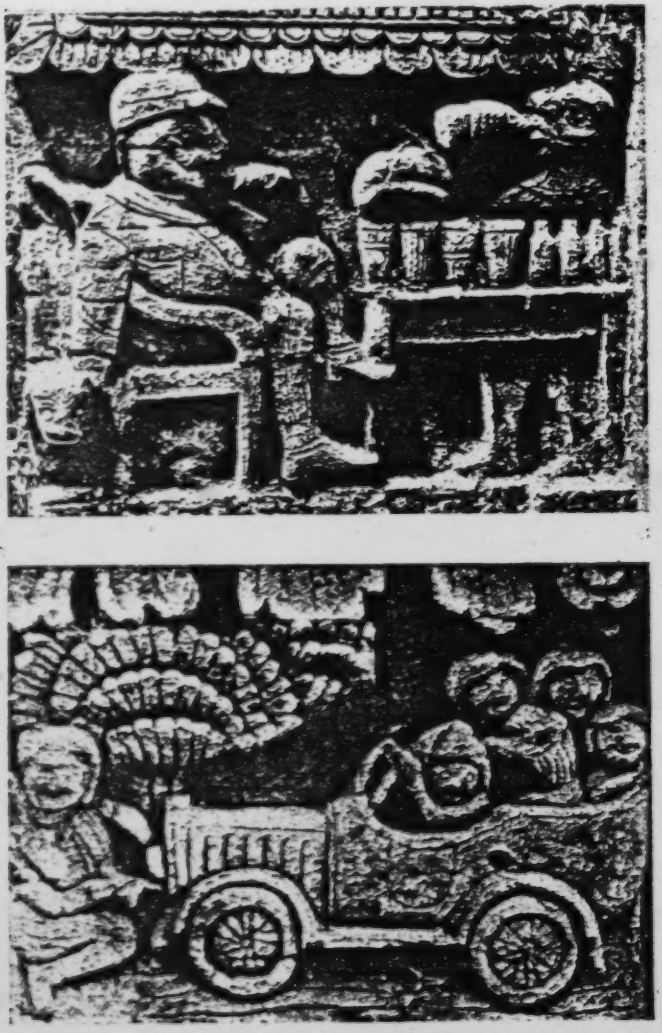

North Balinese Temple Reliefs – Hollanders drinking beer and cranking a motor-car

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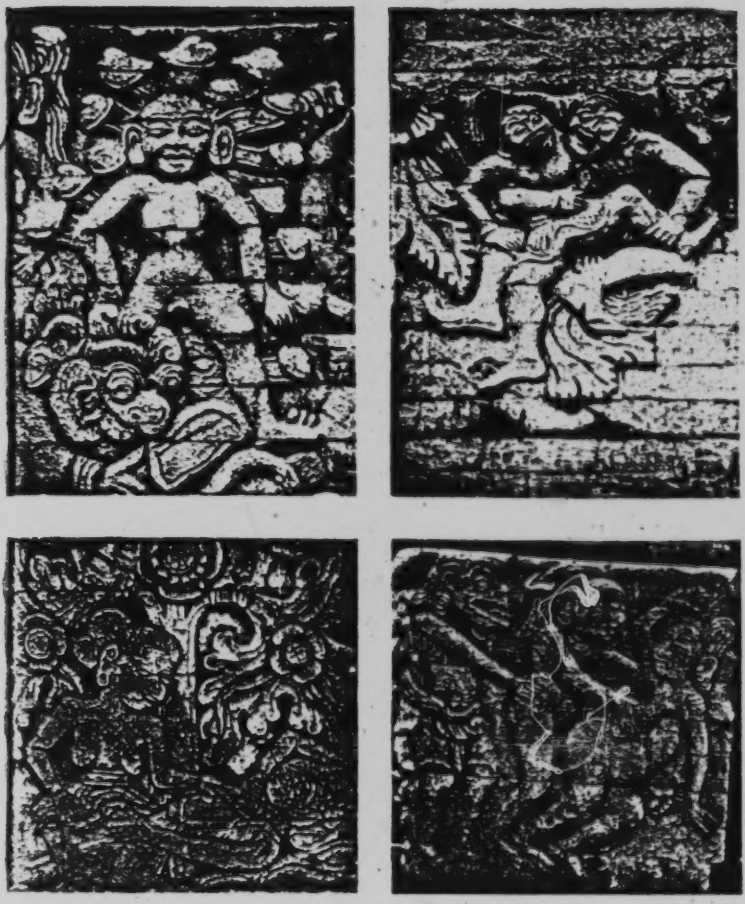

North Balinese Temple Reliefs

[p. 202 (H)]

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were ruled by councils of village members and officials who governed as representatives of the ancestral spirits. Since the land, source of all wealth, also belonged to the ancestors, individual ownership of land was not recognized, and it is remarkable, but typical, that the village officials still govern as a duty to the community and without remuneration.

Furthermore, the Balinese have been extremely liberal in matters of religion. Every time a new idea was introduced into the island, instead of repudiating it, they took it for what it was worth and, if they found it interesting enough, assimilated it into their religion, since no one knew what power there might be in the new gods. In this manner, from all the sects and cults that at one time or another reached the island, they selected anew the principles that best suited their own ideas and accumulated a vast store of religious power. Buddha became to them the younger brother of Siva, and if the efforts of the Christian missionaries who are attempting to convert the Balinese succeed, it is not unlikely that in the future "Sanghyang Widi," the exalted name that the missionaries have adopted for Jesus, will become a first cousin of Siva and Buddha and will enjoy offerings and a shrine where he can rest when he chooses to visit Bali.

## TEMPLES AND TEMPLE FEASTS

The temple is certainly the most important institution on the island and the clearest illustration of the spirit of the Balinese religion. There are temples everywhere, from the modest family shrines in every household, to the extravagant temples of the princes and great town temples; large or small, plain or richly carved temples found in the ricefields, in the cemeteries, in the markets, on the beaches, in caves, among the tangle of gnarled roots of old *waringins*, on deserted hill tops and even on the barren rocks along the coastline.

When we discovered that the Balinese did not seem to mind

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in the least our going in and out of the temples, we started visiting them systematically, looking for unusual statues or reliefs, and although from the beginning we received the impression that there were not two temples exactly alike, we became aware that there were features common to all; unlike the forbidding, sombre temples of other Oriental countries, the Balinese temple is a gay, open-air affair; one, two, or three open courtyards surrounded by a low wall, each court leading into the next through more or less elaborate stone gates, and with a number of empty sheds, pavilions, and shrines in varied styles, the majority covered with thatch, some with only one roof, others with as many as eleven superimposed roofs like pagodas.

There were no soot-blackened rooms filled with incense smoke for mysterious rites performed in front of great idols; as a matter of fact, there were no idols at all worshipped in any of the hundreds of Balinese temples we visited. In many there were ancient statues from former times, together with many shapeless stones kept as amulets by the community, which, because of their antiquity or because they were found in extraordinary circumstances, came to be regarded as gifts of the gods, or as their name (*peturun*) indicates, as heirlooms from their ancestors. The gods are invisible and impalpable and in all Bali there is not an image of a Hindu deity worshipped for the sake of its representation. Most often not even the priests in charge were aware of the names of the divinities represented.

Our interest in temples grew when we tried to understand the rules that dictated their intriguing design, but the first attempts left us only more confused than before. Explanations by the *pemangkus*, the temple-keepers, did not agree and the discrepancies were often greater than the points of agreement. With Spies I started into a more systematic search; we went into a temple, sought the *pemangku*, and drew a plan in which the names and purposes of each unit were indicated. Repetitions started to appear in many plans, and when we had gathered many ground plans of various sorts of temples we traced the

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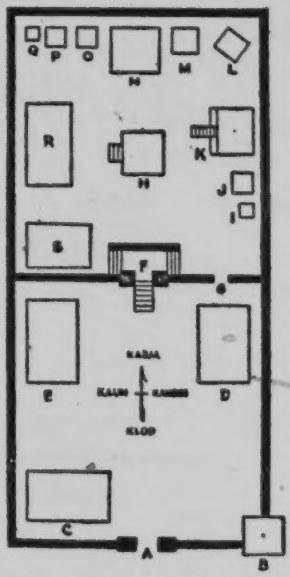
common features in them. From those that appeared most frequently I set myself to the task of reconstructing one "ideal" Balinese temple.

Most typical was the temple with two courtyards, the outer




Ground plan of a typical Balinese temple

A — Split gate, *tjandí bentar*
B — Kulkul tower
C — Kitchen, paon
D — Balé gong
E — Balé for pilgrims
F — Ceremonial gate, padú raksa
G — Side gate
H — Paruman or pepelik
I — *Ngrurah alit*
J — *Ngrurah gedé*
K — Gedong pesimpangan
L — Padmasana
M — Gunung agung
N — Meru
O — Gunung batur
P — *Maospait* (mendjangan seluang)
Q — Taksú
R — Balé piasan
S — Balé

court called *djaban*, "outside," and the other the *dalam*, the "inside." Entrance into the first court was gained through the *tjandí bentar*, the "split monument" or split gate (A. See plan), which was like the two halves of a solid tower cut clean through the middle, each half pushed apart to give access into the temple.

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346 That the *tjandí bentar* represented the two halves of a unit was obvious; in most of them each side was elaborately carved, often with the design also cut in two, as in a temple near Mengwi where half of a monstrous face adorned each side of the gate. Furthermore, the two inner sides were invariably left smooth, clean surfaces that shone by contrast with the elaborately carved rest of the temple. This we decided was an inviolable law until we found one *tjandí bentar* in Pura Bangkung, in Sukasada, North Bali, with its inner sides carved. This exception, however, is not important, given the anarchy that prevails in North Balinese temples, and since there is no rule in Bali without its exception.

In the right-hand corner of the first courtyard, or outside the gate, is the high tower (B) where hang the village drums (*kulkul*). Inside the outer court are a number of simple sheds: a kitchen (*paon*) where the food for feasts is cooked (C), the *balé gong*, a shed for the orchestra (D), and another *balé* (E) used as rest-house by the people and for the making of offerings. The outer courtyard is generally devoid of ornamentation except for a number of decorative frangipani trees.

Another monumental gate, the *padú raksa* (F), leads into the second court, the temple proper. This gate is a massive structure identical in shape and design with the reunited halves of the *tjandí bentar*, but raised high above the ground on stone platforms, with a narrow entrance provided with wooden doors and reached by a flight of stone steps. On each side of the stairs is a statue of a fierce giant, two *raksasas* to guard the entrance. Directly behind the door is a stone wall (*aling aling*) covered with reliefs of demons. These are meant to keep evil influences from entering the temple.

174 346 All sorts of theories have been advanced as to the significance of these two gates, the most characteristic structures in the temples. It has been said that the *tjandí bentar* represents the two halves of the mountain Mahameru, which was split by Pasupati (Siva) in order to place each half in Bali, one as the

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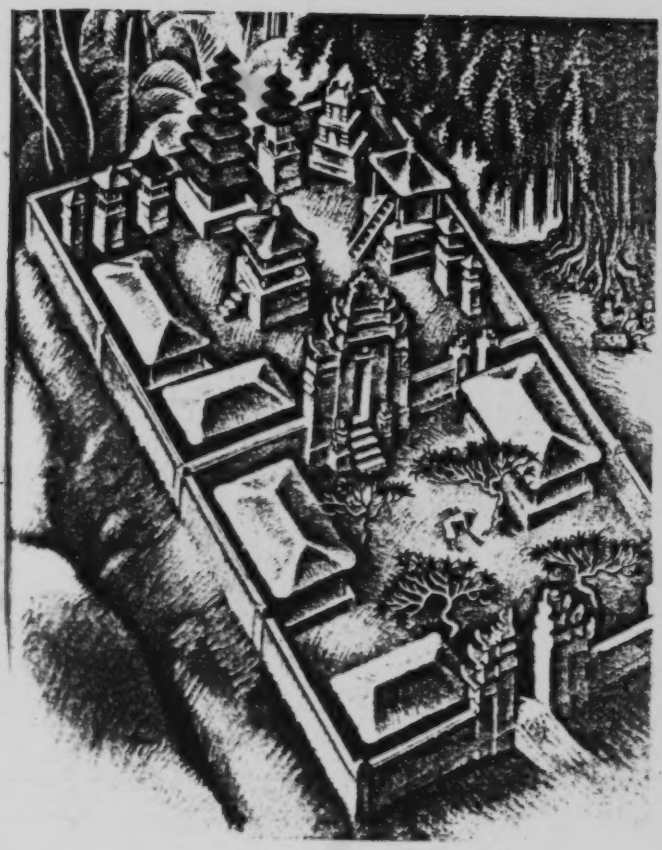

A Typical Balinese Temple

[p. 266 (A)]

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Gunung Agung and the other as the Batur. A scholarly Balinese told me that it represents the two halves of a complete thing, the male at the right, the female at the left; or it is perhaps symbolical of the splitting of the material world to permit the entrance into the mystery with the physical body. Dr. Goris suggests as the origin of these gates the remainders of the old *tjandís*, the burial towers of the former kings, a logical explanation because of the cult of deified kings linked to the ancestor-worship and, further, because of the identical shape of the Balinese temple gates and the old *tjandís*, a shape of temple gates which dates back to the most ancient of Javanese temples. The *tjandí* form appears throughout Balinese ritual as the symbol for the universe: a pyramid of receding platforms – the foundation of the earth and the mountains – the intermediate space between heaven and earth, and the stratified heavens, represented by the pagoda-like roofs (*tumpang*), or by gradually decreasing stone mouldings.

The first courtyard is only an antechamber for the preparation of feasts and for other social purposes. It is in the inner court that are erected the altars and shrines that serve as rest-houses for the gods during their visits to this earth. The principle of orientation – the relation of the mountains to the sea, high and low, right and left – that constitutes the ever present Balinese Rose of the Winds (*nawa sanggah*), rules the orientation and distribution of the temple units. The principal altars and shrines are arranged in two rows on the honoured sides of the court: *kadja*, upward to the mountain, and *kangin*, to the right of this direction.

First in importance is the *gedong pesimpangan* (K), built in the middle of the *kangin* side, a masonry building closed by wooden doors dedicated to the local deity, the ancestor-founder of the community, often named after the village, as, for instance, in desa Dedap he is called Ratú Dalam Dedapan. Inside there is often a stone phallus (*lingga*) and, since the building can be locked, there the relics and heirlooms of the temple are

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346 also kept: ancient statues of stone, wood, or gold, old bronzes, and so forth.

Most impressive are the *merus*, high pagodas of wood resting on stone platforms, always with an odd number of superimposed receding roofs (from three to eleven) made of thick layers of *idjuk*, the everlasting and costly fibre of the sugar palm. These roofs are arranged along an open shaft through which the gods are supposed to descend into the *meru*. The temple of Besakih, the greatest in all Bali, on the slopes of the Gunung Agung, consists practically of *merus*, and other important temples have three, five, seven, or nine *merus*, but our typical temple has one, built in the principal place, the centre of the *kadja* side of the courtyard. The *meru* is supposed to represent the great cosmic mountain *Mahameru* and is the seat of the high Hindu gods. 346 778 A curious feature of *merus* is the miniature iron implements buried under the building, together with little gold and silver roast chickens, lotus flowers, crabs, shrimps, and so forth. Again, where the rafters of the uppermost roof meet, there is a vertical beam of sandalwood with a hole in which is deposited a small covered Chinese bowl of porcelain containing nine precious stones or nine *pripih*, plates of various metals inscribed with magic words.

Never missing are two shrines for the great mountains: one for the Gunung Agung (M) and other for the Batur (O) (or for the Batukau in the villages in its neighbourhood). They resemble little *merus* of one roof, also made of *idjuk* and ending in tall phallic points. Of great importance is the *padmasana* (L), the stone throne for the sun-god Surya, which stands invariably in the uppermost right-hand corner of the temple, with its back directed always towards the Gunung Agung. The form of the *padmasana* is again the representation of the cosmos. On a wide platform shaped like the mythical turtle *bedawang*, with two stone serpents coiled around its body, rest three receding platforms, the mountains, the whole surmounted by a stone chair with a high back.

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Other shrines that are never missing are the little houses for *Ngrurah Alit* (I) and *Ngrurah Gedé* (J), the "secretaries" of the gods, who watch that the proper offerings are made, and the stone niche for the *Taksú* (Q), the interpreter of the deities. It is the *Taksú* who enters the bodies of mediums when in a trance and speaks through them to make known the decisions of the gods to the people. There is still one more shrine, the *Maospait* (P), dedicated to the totemic gods of the settlers from Madjapahit, the "original deer" (*medjangan seluang*). This can be recognized by a small sculpture of a deer's head or by the stylization of antlers carved in wood.

There are, besides, other pavilions; one in the middle of the temple which serves as a communal seat for the gods, the *pepelik*, or *paruman* (H), and the *balé piasan* (R, S), simple sheds for offerings.

This lengthy description is still far from complete and is limited to the main features of a would-be average temple, but unfortunately such typical temples could hardly be found in Bali. Despite the rules, practically every temple has curious contradictory individual features; besides, such is the variety of types of temples and so great the local differences, that only for the purpose of a general understanding of the spirit of Balinese temples can this "typical" temple be of use. To note down all the variants of Balinese temples would require a great volume.

Besides the family shrines, every Balinese "complete" community, a *desa*, should have at least the three reglementary temples: first a "naval" temple, *pura puséh*, the old temple of the original community from which the village sprang; a second, *pura desa*, the town temple for official celebrations of the entire village, which, in case it has a *balé agung*, the old-fashioned assembly hall of the village Elders, receives the name of *pura balé agung*; and third, a *pura dalam*, the temple of the dead, built out in the cemetery, dedicated to the deities of death and cremation. It often happens that the *pura puséh*, despite its being the most

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important centre of worship, is located in another village or even in another district, because it was from there that came the settlers of the later village. In some places the *pura puséh* and the *pura desa* are combined into one, with only a wall separating the two departments. There are still the private temples of the princes; the royal temples (*pura panataran*), and the *pura dadia*, the private temple of origin of the family, the connecting link between the scattered branches of a common stock. Other important temples are the *pura bedugul*, the rice temple of each agricultural guild; the *pura pamaksan*, little temples of each village ward (*bandjar*), from which the *pura puséh* evolves; hill temples (*pura bukit*), sea temples on the beaches (*pura segara*), temples for the deities of seed and markets (*pura melanting*), bathing-temples, temples in lakes, caves, springs, trees, and so forth. (See additional Note 1, page 308.)

Except for the old *pemangku*, the keeper and officiating priest of the temple, who can be seen there occasionally sweeping the yard, the temples are ordinarily deserted because the Balinese go into them only for public gatherings, festivals, and meetings. *Pemangkus* are simple people of the common class with old-fashioned manners, polite, good-natured, and with a charming modesty, who live near the temple and perform all of its duties, from sweeping it to invoking and impersonating the deities. The haughty Brahmanic priests, the *pedandas*, refer to them contemptuously as *djero sapúh*, "sweepers," but the *pemangkus* are the really active priests of the people's ritual and alone officiate at temple feasts, when the *pedandas* do not take an active part. Furthermore there are villages where the *pedandas* are even barred from the temple.

The office of the *pemangku* is often hereditary, but he may also be chosen by some mystic while inspired by the spirits. He dresses in all-white clothes with a characteristic coat with tight sleeves and wears his head-cloth in the old-style high crest. *Pemangkus* lead a normal routine life without great religious restrictions, attending to their personal affairs until the date for

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## ADDITIONAL NOTES

346 1. *Balinese Temples.* Perhaps the aboriginal form of Balinese temple was a square of consecrated ground in which were erected sacrificial altars, piles of stones, surrounded by a rough stone fence. Temples of this sort are still to be found in Tenganan and Sembiran, two villages that preserve much of the ancient religion. There are temples along the coast in the vicinity of Sanur reminiscent of these primitive temples, like the one on the beach of Sindú that consists of rough pieces of coral in shapeless piles, with a number of primitive statues as the sole decoration. The owners afterwards added shrines of dressed stone; then lately, to be modern, they built altars of cement, resulting in what looks like an object lesson in the progress and evolution of Balinese temple architecture.

171 346 There is a strong Polynesian flavour in these primitive temples. Ralph Linton (*Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia*, The Field Museum, Chicago) says: "In the Cook groups the temples were usually stone enclosures or platforms often without houses. . . . In the Society group . . . they were low walled enclosures with a platform or pyramid at one end. . . . In the Marquesas there were two sorts of temples, the public ones . . . and the mortuary stone platforms which bore houses . . . that had excessively high roofs so that the early writers often refer to them as obelisks. In Hawaii . . . the most important temples were stone walled enclosures containing a number of houses for the priests and images. . . . None of the images or objects symbolizing the gods seem to have been considered divine in themselves. They were simple bodies which the gods could occupy at will." These striking similarities between the Balinese and Polynesian religious spirits extend into the cult, into the social organization, and even into the physical type of the Balinese.

184 346 The Bali Aga, who were never subjected to the political and religious influence of the Javanese lords, build great austere temples with peculiar features such as the little bridge (*titi gonggang*), a stone placed over a hole directly in front of the temple gate, over which can pass only the "pure" — the gods and the virgin boys and girls of the village. Interesting also are the divisions of the Bali Aga communities: first into two [621] great groups, right and left, each with its priests; then into four separate groups that meet in representative halls built in the temple: the married men who sit in council at the *balé agung;* the married women who sit in the *balé loh;* and the adolescent boys and girls with their special clubhouses, the *balé truna* and the *balé daha.* In Bali Aga villages the *balé agung* is still the heart of the political and religious life of the community

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and great balé agungs can always be seen in the first courtyard of their temples. Most striking examples of such temples are in Taro in the Gianyar mountains, where the largest and the most beautiful balé agung in Bali is to be found, and in Trunyan on the shores of Lake Batur. 184 346

North Balinese temples depart considerably from the normal structure of the Southern temples already described. They are built on the slope of a hill with the temple proper placed on the highest part in a curious ascendant tendency, culminating in high monuments of carved stone reached by successive flights of stairs.

Typical is the *Pura Medrwé Karang*, the "temple of the Owner of the Land" in Kubutambahan. Here steps lead into a wide, totally empty court, and more steps give access into the second court, the temple proper. In this court there are only two small *balés* for offerings, one on each side of a great monumental stone base consisting of three wide platforms strongly reminiscent of a pyramid. In this temple the essential little shrines of South Balinese temples do not exist; instead, the pyramid is surmounted by a great *padú raksa*, the great gate of other temples, with a stone throne, a *padmasana*, in place of the customary doorway. On each side of the *padú raksa* are two god houses with roofs of sugar-palm fibre. There is, besides, a great split gate, *tjandí bentar*, but instead of serving as the outer entrance to the temple, it is built over the second platform of the pyramid, directly in front of the central monument.

There are no *merus* in North Balinese temples, and many of the most important elements of the Southern temples are lacking. It is usual, however, to find the *padmasana*, the throne of the sun-god, the split gate, and the great monumental gate occupying a place and with a function quite different from those in other Balinese temples. It seems as if the North Balinese adopted these features of the temples with a curiously distorted point of view.

Balinese texts often mention the *sad-kahyangan*, the six holy national temples, over the significance of which no one agrees. Most important of these is the great *Besakih*, situated exactly half-way up the slopes of the Gunung Agung. *Besakih* is Bali's most impressive temple in its austere simplicity and its grandiosity, with hundreds of black *merus* rising from everywhere to the misty sky and with a single unadorned great gate. Rather than one temple, *Besakih* is a cluster of temples, one for each of the different Balinese states, and once a year (at the full moon of the "fourth" month), the Radjas of Bali, now the regents, make offerings there for the whole of the Balinese people. 346 [782]

Other temples classed among the *sad-kahyangan*, some of which are debatable, are: *Pura Batukau*, near the summit of the mountain of the

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same name; *Ulú Watú*, magnificently situated at the edge of a projecting cliff with a perpendicular drop into the sea of 250 feet, on the limestone tableland called Tafelhoek (Bukit Petjatu) (a great festival is held there on the day *anggara-klion* of the week *madang siha*, twenty-one days after *galunggan*); the bathing-temple of *Tirta Empul* in Tampaksiring; *Pura Panataran Sasih* in Pedjeng; *Pura Sakenan* in the island of Serangan; *Yeh Djeruk* in Gianyar; *Giralawa* in Klungkung; *Pakedukan* in Tabanan; *Samantiga* in Bedulu, and so forth.

2. *Artjas*. The concept that the spirits can be brought down to earth to be embodied in a receptacle, a stylized human figure or a mask among the primitive animists such as the Africans and Oceanians, appears in Bali in the *artja* cult. *Artjas* are generally statuettes of sandalwood, of gold, or of old coins sewn together, always male and female, and often represent Rama and Sita, the reincarnations of Wisnu and Sri.

*Artjas* of ancient Chinese cash, *kepeng*, with faces and hands of carved wood or gold are called *dewa rambut sadana* and are supposed to bring luck and riches to their owners. Our having acquired an old *rambut sadana* created considerable disturbance among our neighbours; when our servant first saw it, he asked us excitedly to sell it to him at twice the price paid for it. He told others in the house and they often came asking to see it. Someone even offered to make me a new one since "mine was already falling to pieces." We had to hide it, and it was some time before the matter was forgotten.

The statuettes fit into a base carved like an animal, the "mount" or vehicle of the deities when taken out in procession. Most often these bases are shaped like bulls, deer, or mythical animals, *nagas* or *singhas*, but often the mount is a composite animal, as for instance half-bull, half-fish, in all probability the ancient totems of the families who own the *artjas*. There is still a trace of totemism in Bali; people of the *ngatewel* caste claim descent from a jackfruit tree, and my friend Gusti Oka told me members of his family may not eat singing doves.

That the *artjas*, when imbued with the spirit of the deity, become highly temperamental was shown at the temple feast of *Taman Badung*, the death temple of Den Pasar, when about forty of the town's *artjas* were taken out in procession. Absent was the feminine deity from the Civil temple, who "refused to join in the procession because she was not on good terms with her husband, the *artja* of *Taman Badung*."

3. *Offerings*. The ever present offerings (*pabantén*) made to the gods and evil spirits should not be taken literally as factual food for them, but

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Padu raksa, the inner gate of a temple

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The meru or tower of the temple Kehen in Bangli rises beside the shrines which the gods use as resting-places

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ABOVE: A panorama of merus which make up the Mother Temple (Besakih) of Bali

BELOW: Giant puppets for the holy barong landong: a wild giant and a prince

[p. 406 (~~XXXV~~)]

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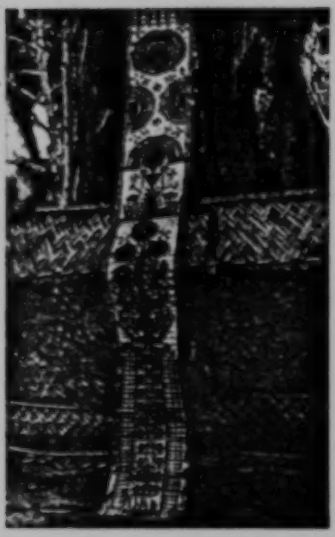

[291]

A *lamak*, a strip of palm-leaves designed for temple decoration; a detail of the same. BELOW, a shrine decorated for a temple feast

[P. 406 ( ~~XXXVIII~~ )]

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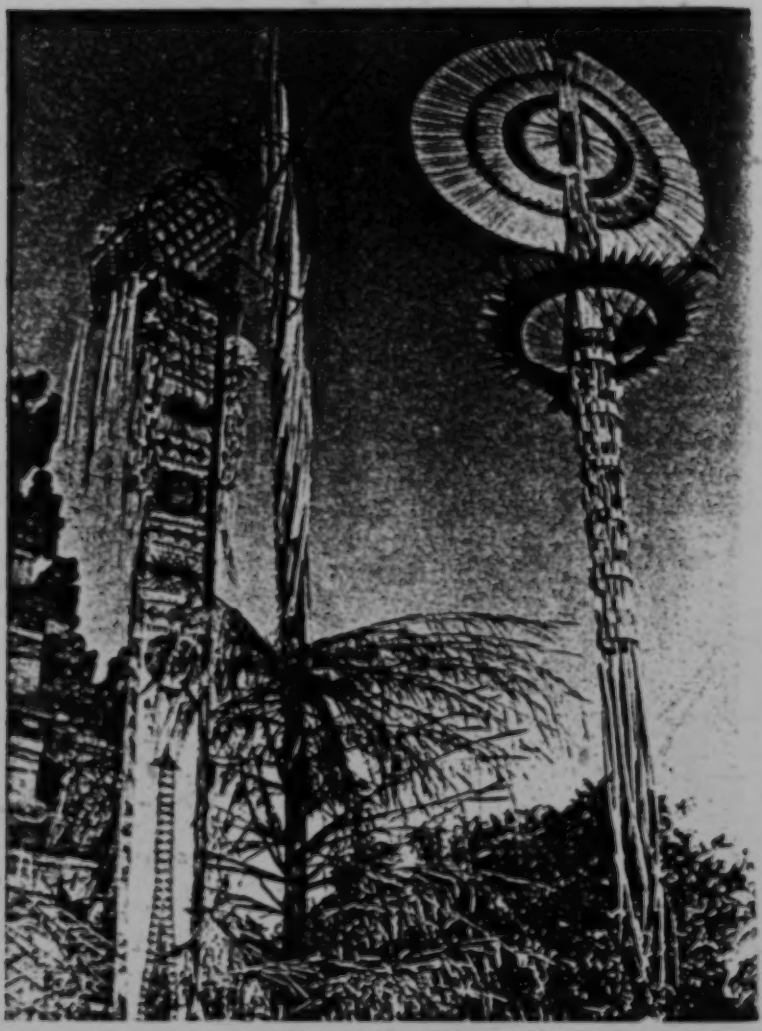

An exceptionally fine *lamak* and a tall *penyor*, a tall bamboo pole hung with lacy ornaments of palm-leaf decorating the entrance to a temple

[P. 406 (~~XXXX~~)]

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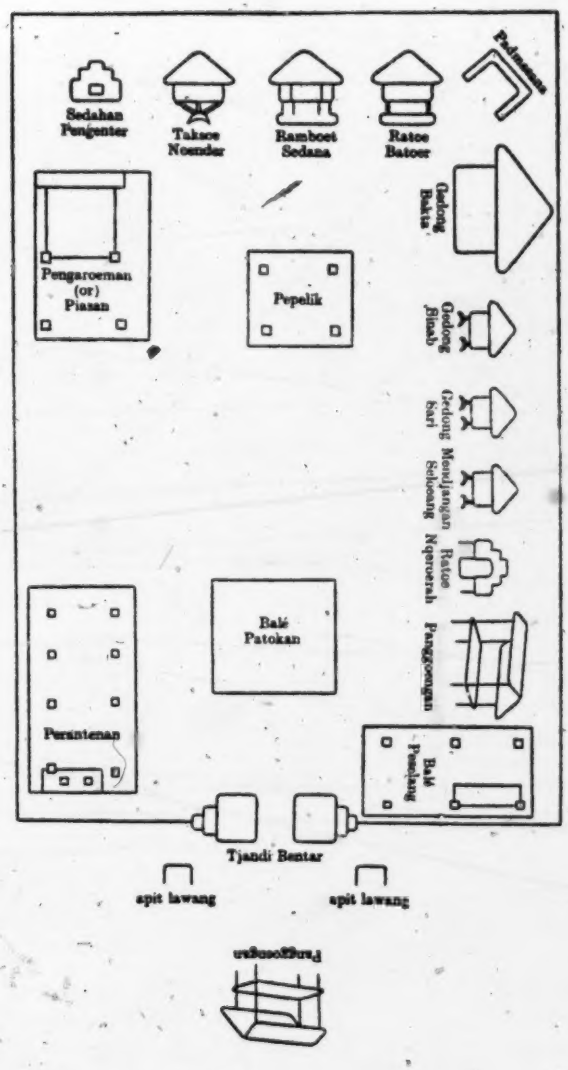
POERA NAGASARI – SAJAN



3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7



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Women present offerings before the shrines

[opp. p. 16]

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PLATE VIII

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Dawn of the last day of the festival

[opp. p. 65]

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In the old style villages with dual organization, the chief buildings in the temple court are the long, beautifully proportioned *balé agoeng*, often a pair, parallel with each other, called right (*kiwa*) and left (*tengen*). Here the ceremonial seating and feast of the council of elders takes place. They are seated then in two long rows facing each other, according to rank (seniority), and "balancing" the two sides of the village. At times a second duality is introduced by having the ceremonial seating in the left hand *balé agoeng* at dark moon (*tilem*), in the right hand building at full moon (*poernama*). This duality theme may recur in contemporary ritual where it is not apparent in social organization.

*Godly Representations.* When we pass from these old style villages to the more usual type, we may find remains and reminders of this old organization. There may be a *balé agoeng* though the council of elders and the dual organization no longer exist. There may be a ceremonial "seating of elders," that is people who go into trance as a rule, spokesmen of the gods. The thing which carries through from this old style organization to the rituals of the more modern villages and those which have come under Hinduistic caste influence, is the ceremonial feast at which these old people take part *representing* the gods. The evidence of the godly presence is in the sacramental meal offered to the gods in their persons, the food which they do not eat and the rice wine which they pour out in libation on the ground. "If the gods are pleased, they will come down," say the Balinese. If trance occurs, those who speak with the voices of the gods give further evidence that communications between the living and the inhabitants of above (*ring loewoer*), deities and ancestral spirits of dead kings and their courts, are set up and maintained. The gods are to be propitiated, their protection invoked, their will to be done.

Balinese people the world above and the world in which they live with vast hordes of demons (*kala*), evil spirits (*tonja*), and witchlike spirits (*léjak*) who follow the gods about, come to the feast which is spread for the gods, and are likely to devour all the offerings prepared for the gods before the gods have a chance at them. For these demonic hordes special offerings are therefore made and set outside the temple on a temporary rough shrine or on the ground. The people describe these demons as the rough, uncouth servitors of the gods, who are sure to accompany them and to be extraordinarily hungry, just as such servitors would come accompanying a prince if he came on a visit.

The one power which can hold at bay these demonic hordes is the *Barong*, a holy masked figure of a lion or tiger, played by two men, who dances around the village and around the outside of the temple to protect it. As

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as the great festival at Bali's head temple, Besakih, both Sivaite and Buddhist high priests may be present and officiating simultaneously.

*Temples.* Temples in Bali are sites rather than buildings. They are places where the supernatural is dealt with. Often prescriptions for giving offerings will run "at temple A, at temple B, at temple C, at the crossroads, at the graveyard, at the market place, at the spring . . ." Temples consist of one or more courtyards, open to the sky, surrounded by a wall, and containing small shrines and buildings. These buildings are known as *balé*, the very old Malayo-Polynesian word for house (*balé*, Balinese, house, raised platform, platform covered with a roof, place for ceremonial seating; cf. contemporary Polynesian, *falé*, house; contemporary Malay, *balai*, hall of audience). There are *balés* for the setting out of the gods, for the preparation and laying out of offerings, for the orchestra. There is also, in every temple, a kitchen (*paon*). The space immediately outside the gate of the outermost court is a broad cleared space, called the *djaban poera* (outside of the temple) which is ceremonially important. It is here that the "reception of the gods" and the "send off of the gods" take place at festival time. It is here that offerings are spread for demons so that they will remain without and not enter the temple courts. It is here that cock fights are held, ceremonially important for the spilling of blood. And the secular dances and dramatic plays which accompany the calendric festivals are staged in this outer space, often in the shade of an enormous banyan tree (*waringin*, *bingin*).

In the inner court, a line of greater and smaller shrines are arranged close to the rearmost wall and down one or both sides. Though the priest is able to give the names of the Hinduistic gods or the historically known personages to whom these shrines have at one time or another been erected, the people who give offerings at the temple are often not able to. Or the names given will be simple Balinese terms like "He who owns the courtyard" (*Medoewé Karang*). If it is, or has been, a court temple, there will be shrines for the various court officials such as The Secretary (*Penjarikan*), and The Recorder of Births (*Ngerocrah*). It is believed that the throne to the Sun (*Surya*), which is generally set across the corner of the court to the holiest side, mountainward east (*kadja kangin*), the other buildings being squarely and not transversely arranged, may have been added to the temples at a later date than their founding. In many it is absent. It would be possible at any time for a new shrine to be added in the temple simply by someone's going into trance and uttering the gods' wish for the new shrine to be set up. It has been remarked that, if Jesus Christ should come to Bali, the Balinese would put up one more shrine to Him in their temples.

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ever, derives this last epithet from the fact that she guards her devotees from distress (*durga*), and she is proclaimed as the refuge for those lost in the wilds, wrecked in the great ocean, or beset by evil men. Yet her normal aspect is terrible: she lives in trackless places, she loves strife and the blood of the Asura Mahisa, and in battle she conquers Danavas and Daityas. She is Kali or Mahakali, as her spouse is Kala, and she is called the deep sleep of all creatures.[1]

Dowson is in quite close agreement with Keith. He lists the following titles under Devi:

In her milder form she is Uma, "light" and a type of beauty; Gauri, "the yellow and brilliant;" Parvati, "the mountaineer;" and Haimavati, from her parentage; Jagan-mata, "the mother of the world;" and Bhavani. In her terrible form she is Durga, "the inaccessible;" Kali and Syama, "the black;" Chandi and Chandika, "the fierce;" and Bhairavi, "the terrible."[2]

It must be stressed that sources dealing primarily with Hinduism in India may give more elaborations of the godly personalities than perhaps were known in Indonesia. The use of the name Durga is rare in Bali. Devi, or Dewi, is known, and *dewa-dewi* is the usual, generic term for all gods. Uma is more rarely encountered, also Parvati. The other names I have not encountered, though *kala-buta* is currently used for all demons; and *chandi*, or *tjandi*, both in Java and in Bali means temple or shrine. The famous Balinese "split gate," which looks like a shrine cut down the center, from which the two sides have been forced apart to make an entrance, is known as "*tjandi bentar*." In Java, at the site of the famous temple from which the lovely statue of Durga described above was taken, the name of the goddess has been lost, and she is known as "Lara Djonggrang." Vlekke tells us

Near Prambanan, on the boundary between the present principalities of Djocjakarta and Surakarta and not far from the ruins of the Buddhist temples of the Shailendra period, an enormous complex of more recent temple ruins has been found. In one of these buildings, a statue is preserved. It is the statue of Durga, the "unapproachable," the goddess who is one of the personifications of Devi, the consort of Shiva.

The natives no longer know the significance of this statue. They have given it the name of "Lara Djonggrang," "slender maiden," and have connected it with the legend of a princess changed into stone by the curse of a rejected lover. In spite of the ignorance of the modern natives and of the fact that all Javanese now profess the Islamic faith, the centuries-old veneration of the statue continues. The simple Javanese people go to the ruins to offer money, fruit, and flowers to the goddess. Professor Krom, the most distinguished student of Hindu-Javanese history, once noticed that two goats were brought to the temple by a farmer as an offering. This farmer was certainly unaware that more than ten centuries ago the goat had been

[1] *Ibid*, p. 118.
[2] Dowson, 1928, "Devi."

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the gate as if daring the presence within the temple to come out and join in the affray.

When this part of the ritual, the circumambulation of the outer square, was at an end, the masked figures and their followers passed up the steps again and through the gate into the inner court, where the entranced were sprinkled with holy water and smoked with the incense brazier to bring them out of trance, and their krisses were taken from them. Sometimes the entranced struggle violently when disarmed. One of the most conspicuous performers on this occasion, a man who had dressed himself in the ceremonial cloth, *poléng* (black and white check in large squares) for both his upper scarf (*sapoet*) and his headcloth (*oedeng*), who had been especially exhibitionistic in his self stabbing and in his prancing about with wide legged steps and wide eyed facial expressions, broke into tears and wept bitterly when his kris was taken from him. It happened that at this time the *méndét* dance (a dance with offerings, usually performed by women) was in order in the ritual. Our friend with the checked garb stood there a moment weeping, his hands extended—and then he began dancing the *méndét* with the women.

This sort of behavior is quite common in the temple festivals of smaller village groups, and it is in practise very much easier and very much more rewarding to study behavior sequences in smaller settings, where the individuals who perform various parts may be followed and identified, preferably where the people are known to the observer as individuals, so that something of their life history and their circumstances is either known or may be readily collected afterward.

*Sindoe, April* 1937. A setting particularly well suited for this type of observation was provided in the tiny temple, Poera Dalem of Sindoe (Intaran, Badoeng District) a few hundred yards down the road from the house of Katharane Mershon, one of our group of investigators. All the participants were friends of hers, and even the introduction of two or three Europeans, armed with cameras and note books, and two trained Balinese secretaries, busily taking notes and asking every one's name and the name of every offering and bit of ritual, did not seem to affect the ethos of the ceremonial. The occasion from which I want to select certain structural details and behavior sequences for description here was a calendric festival which lasted three days, from April 26 to April 29, 1937, on the first day from five o'clock in the afternoon to 2:35 A.M., on the last day from 8:50 P.M. till 1:42 A.M. There was an absolute orgy of trance, which every one enjoyed thoroughly. A sick girl, suffering from tuberculosis, had promised the necessary extra sets of offerings to "keep" for the three days the "little

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gods" (*dewa alit*) in the temple. To the regular yearly festival in honor of the gods of the temple was added this therapeutic function.[1]

The spatial arrangement of this temple and the shrines within it are an actual schematization of the thesis I have been presenting, namely, that from the Durga figure two themes have sprung, that of the horrific Rangda on the one hand and that of the graceful, child-like puppet figure on the other. The chief shrine in the temple, a single court, is a *gedong* (closed shrine) sacred to Durga. All the people know her name, and there is even a statue (*togog*) of her standing before it, dressed in the sacred black and white cloth and with red hybiscus flowers in the headdress. A large palm leaf panel bearing the Old Indonesian designs hangs down from the open doors of the shrine. To the right, on an open shrine called a *balé tadjoek*, a Rangda mask is set out. To the left, on another type of shrine called a *balé pelik*, twelve small puppet-like "little gods," the *dewa alit*, are set out, also dressed in finery and with flowers. Opposite the Durga shrine is the open building, the *balé piasan*, which is where the Brahmana high priest does his ceremonial praying (*mewedja*, from *veda*). In the corner near the gate is a roofed building to house the *gamelan* orchestra. The gate is to one side of center, and immediately opposite it on the outside is a high temporary shrine called a *panggoengan*, customarily put up at calendric festivals for offerings to the demons. Across the outer square is an enormous banyan tree with a shrine under it, said to be for Banaspati Radja, king of the demons and identified in this area with the Barong. The entire temple, instead of being oriented north and south, that is, with *kadja* (the head) towards the mountains and *kelod* (the foot) towards the sea, has its "head" towards the sea and east, putting the small gods north and Rangda to the south.

Godly presences are in the temple only when they are invited to come down with prayers and the preparation of offerings. The shrines are shelters for them, guest houses. For the most part they are empty. When a figure, such as this one of Durga, is present it is as a representation, a statue, a *togog*, not a god figure, an "idol." Sometimes a sacred object, a precious stone, a carved figure or pair of figures, a pair of little painted faces, things of this sort will be kept inside the shrine as receptacles for the gods' presence when they come down. Such objects are called *artja*, but this term was not

[Text Continues on P.45 -- Analyst]

[1] My field notes say: She told us that she promised to keep out the *dewa alit* for three days at this *odalan* if she got better. We remarked later that a great many members of her family took part in the ritual and dancing on the first day and on the last day, but on the last day she herself did not come. However, we have seen her since and she looks better (May 11, 1937).

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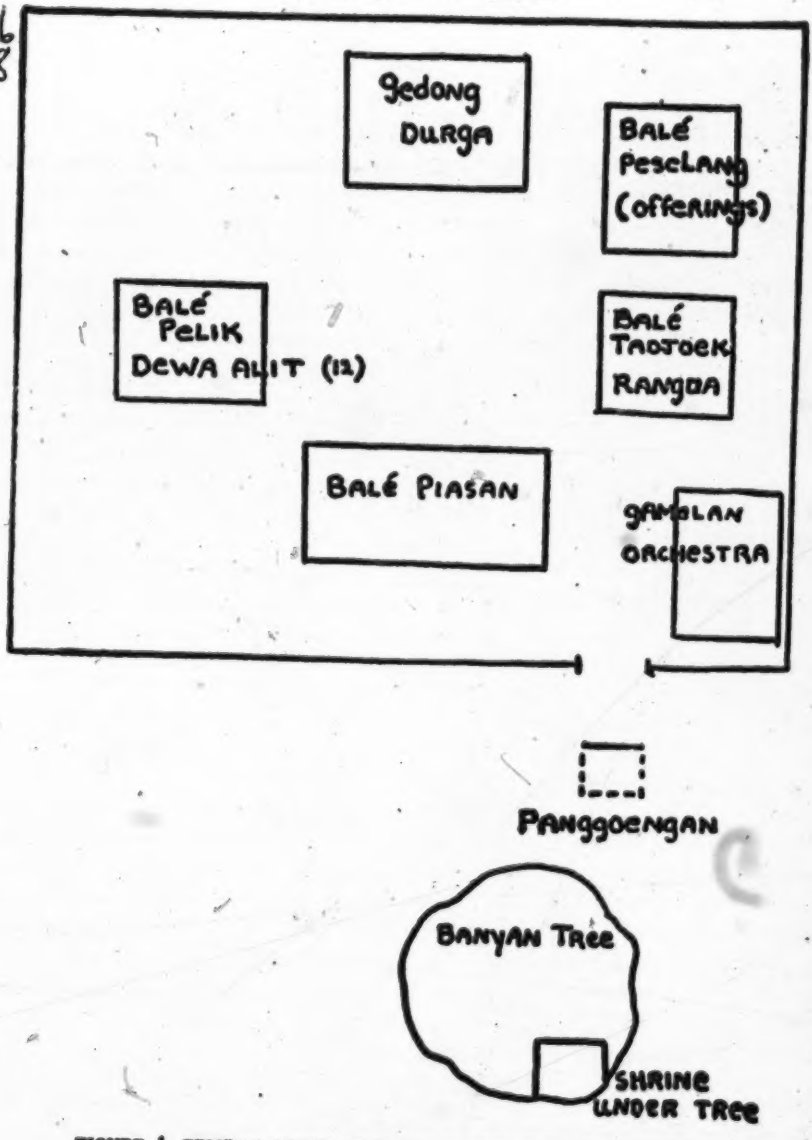


FIGURE 1. TEMPLE COURT AT POERA DALEM SINDOE, INTERAN, DEFINING THE INNER AND OUTER SPACE.

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the worship of Mountain, Lake and Sea gods – the whole overlayed with a coating of Hinduism differing in profundity. Where Hindu influence has been greater Hindu thought and terminology is more widespread, even among the "ignorant outsiders", the Jabă. In other places the old-style seems to have resisted the religious persuasion of the conquerors, to such an extent that even today the inhabitants refuse to tell the name of their gods, to let them be seen by strangers, even in some temples Hindu Padandă's are refused admittance. Yet the scholars and thinkers are chiefly Hindu priests and Hindu-caste princes, who are ready to explain every act of the people in a Hindu way – and these thinkers are the only ones of the Balinese able to give reasons. The simple man says "That is the way it is done" or "That is the way the old men tell" or "That is the way my father taught me". The great mass of the Balinese behave according to tradition, without question and without need for explanatory thought. And if one listens to the Hindu-thinking Balinese, who has always a rational-sounding answer, one has little assurance that his answer actually reflects the cause or true content of the commoner's behavior. To give an example: the *sanggah kamulan*, perhaps the chief shrine of the household temple, is found all over Bali. It has a characteristic form, with three doors. Nine out of ten simple Balinese will tell you, when asked the name of the god whose shrine it is, that they do not know any name for the god. If asked what '*sanggah kamulan*' means, they will answer that it means the 'place of the fore-father', the founder of the family. They cannot tell why it has three doors. Yet the tenth man, of Hindu caste, or trained or tinged with Hindu thought, will answer: "It is for Batară Guru", or "for Siwă", or "for Brahmă-Siwă-Wisnu, the Trimurti". If you insist, and ask why others say the shrine is for their ancestor this man will say: "Yes, that is true, for Siwă is the First Ancestor of all men, it was Siwă who made all men". And yet even a Padandă told, when a question came up of installing figures of the gods in the *sanggah kamulan*, that the figure of only one god with his

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7



wife, either Siwă or Wisnu, could be placed there. He said that to place Brahmă, Siwă and Wisnu, with or without their wives, behind the three doors, was impossible. I never heard a satisfactory explanation of the three doors, which appear to be such an obviously Hindu form. Yet the *sanggah kamulan* is unquestionably the shrine of the ancestor in each individual household, and has nothing to do with Siwă in the minds of the householders to whom each shrine belongs, and who give offerings there.

Besides the difficulty of receiving Hindu-thought explanations for customs probably of non-Hindu origin, one has to remember that certain Hindu rites may have been taken over into the laws of the old Bali-agă villages as magic or medecine considered efficacious against misfortune. As in Sukawană, where the worship of the gods is in the hands of the villagers and their Council of Elders as priests, a Balian exists who performs certain ceremonies outside the temples, and the Sĕngguhu is called in from another village for *mĕcharu*. In Trunyan, known to be so strong in its old organization and strict in its religion, a Padandă from Bangli, we were told, must be called for the *mĕcharu* following the birth of *kĕmbar bunching* twins. And in Taro a Padandă must officiate with the Sĕngguhu. In Tĕnganan, according to Dr. Korn, the ceremony must be carried out with holy water from the Padandă Siwă-Bodă. The presence of these Hindu practices in non-Hindu villages does not prove that the whole twin-purification ceremony is of Hindu origin, but may be due to the magical power ascribed to Hindu ritual by the villagers, so that they believe the presence of the Hindu priest or the use of holy water prepared by him will reinforce their own ways of driving off the disasters. As will be seen, the custom of banishment, and certain more barbaric rites for multiple births than were performed in Sukawană, mentioned in some of the lontars, have much in common with the old incest ritual of some of these villages.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7



ple in terms of which this intersection must be formed. The analysis of village structure therefore consists in first discriminating the organizational planes of significance and then describing the manner in which, in actual fact, they intersect.

In Bali, seven such planes are of major significance, based on: (1) shared obligation to worship at a given temple, (2) common residence, (3) ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed, (4) commonality of ascribed social status or caste, (5) consanguineal and affinal kinship ties, (6) common membership in one or another "voluntary" organization, and (7) common legal subordination to a single government administrative official. In the following paper, I will first analyze each of these planes of organization, then describe three villages as examples of differing modes of intersection of these planes, and finally offer a discussion of some of the theoretical implications of this type of village organization.

## PLANES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. *Shared obligation to worship at a given temple.* Bali is a land of temples. One sees them everywhere—under the village banyan tree, in the midst of rice fields, by waterfalls, in the centers of large towns, by a graveyard, at the sea edge, on a lake island, in every houseyard, at the mountain top—everywhere; of all sizes and in all conditions of repair; all or most showing the traditional form: the high brick walls, the intricately carved split gate, the tall pagoda-like altars with their storeyed thatched roofs.[2] And there are no ruins in Bali: to each of these thousands of temples there is attached both an hereditary priest and a definite congregation of worshipers obligated to perform detailed ritual activities within its walls at fixed intervals, most commonly every six months. Such a congregation is said to *njungsung* the temple—literally to carry it on its head, as women carry nearly everything in Bali, including the elaborate offerings they bring to the temples on festival days.[3] Every family in Bali, unless it be Christian or Moslem, carries at least a half dozen temples called *pura*—on its head.

Of the great variety of pura, by far the most important to the Balinese are the *Kahyangan-Tiga*. Kahyangan is an honorific word for temple (meaning literally "place of the gods"), indicating a pura of unusual importance, and *tiga* means three—thus, "the three great temples." There are probably over a thousand sets of such temples in Bali, with membership ranging from fifty up to several thousand families; the three temples concerned in any particular locality are the *Pura Puseh*, or origin temple, theoretically the temple built at the time of the first settlement of the area; the *Pura Dalam*, or graveyard temple for the spirits of the local dead; and the *Pura Balai Agung*, or "great council temple" (of the gods), dedicated primarily to maintaining the fertility of the surrounding rice fields. At the first two of these temples festivals are held once in every 210-day Balinese year, at the third once in a lunar year, the specific days depending upon the tradition of the individual temples. At such festival times the gods are conceived to descend from heaven, remain for three

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days, and then return to their home, and the congregation is obligated to entertain them during the time of their stay by means of complex offerings, elaborate rituals, and skillful artistic performances under the general direction of the temple priest and the secular head of the temple. The cost of the festivals, the rather large amounts of labor involved, and the general upkeep of the temples falls on each member of the congregation equally, and this group is typically organized in some fairly complicated manner to achieve these ends.

As mentioned, Kahyangan-Tiga membership is defined territorially, each Balinese belonging to just one of the sets. Nevertheless, one cannot say, as have most scholars, that he belongs to the temple of his "village," and thus that Kahyangan-Tiga can be translated "the three village temples," because only in the limiting case are the boundaries of the basic territorial political unit, here called the hamlet, and of the Kahyangan-Tiga congregation coterminous; in most instances, the religious and political units are not coordinate but cross-cut one another. Whatever the Balinese village may or may not be, it is not simply definable as all people worshiping at one set of Kahyangan-Tiga, because people so obligated to worship commonly form a group for no other social function—political, economic, familiar, or whatever. The congregation of the Kahyangan-Tiga is, in essence, a specifically religious body; in most cases it comes together only at the obligatory temple festivals.[1] Thus, the oft-repeated and much-loved rites at these temples serve to form one crucial bond among rural Balinese of a generally territorial sort, but this bond balances off against other bonds formed in terms of more concretely social activities rather than, as is typical of religious ties, directly reinforcing them.

Besides the Kahyangan-Tiga there are dozens of other types of temples, with different bases in terms of which their congregations are formed: there are ricefield temples, at which worship the men who own land within a particular irrigation society; there are kinship temples, supported by members of a single patriline; there are caste temples where only people with a given rank worship; there are associational temples formed on a voluntary companionate basis, their obligations being inherited by their descendents; there are state temples attended by people subject to a single lord, and so on. Again, some of these correspond to concrete social groups with other, nonreligious purposes, some do not; some are almost inevitably found, some but rarely; some are obligatory for all men, some are voluntary. Thus, by plotting temple types in a locality, one plots the general shape of the local social structure but not its specific outlines. The temple system of the Balinese countryside forms a relatively fixed stone and wood mold in terms of which rural social organization expresses itself, and the semi-annual festivals in each temple dramatize the sorts of ties out of which Balinese peasants build their collective life. But it does not stamp that life into any simple or unvarying form, for within the general mold the possibilities for variations in stress, combination, and adjustment of social elements seem almost limitless.

2. *Common Residence.* As most Indonesians, Balinese live in a clustered settlement pattern, their walled-in house-compounds jammed against each

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7



591 611 428 in his own patriline, as a woman does at marriage in the normal case, and moves to his wife's home to live. As this almost always occurs in cases where male heirs are lacking, Balinese genealogies show a noticeable ambilineal element, in that a certain percentage of the ties are traced through women rather than men.

592 The basic residential unit is the *pekarangan* or walled house compound, which in kinship terms may house groups which range from a simple nuclear family up to a three or more generation extended patri-family. Typically two or three nuclear families, often with various unattached or aged patri-relatives, occupy a single pekarangan, but occasionally compounds with as many as ten or fifteen families, related through a common paternal grandfather may be found, particularly among the upper caste groups. In addition to being a residential unit, the compound is a very important religious unit, for each compound group supports a small temple in the northeast corner of the yard dedicated to its direct ancestors at which twice yearly ceremonials must be given. Finally, the compound is usually divided into kitchens, called *kuren*, typically one nuclear family to a kitchen, but sometimes two or three, and it is this kitchen group which is the basic kin unit from the point of view of all superordinate social institutions: it is the kuren which is taxed for the Kahyangan-Tiga temples, which is allotted a seat in the meeting house, which must send a worker to repair the dam or participate in the harvest, which is the rice-field owning unit, and so on.

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614 621 Above the compound and the kitchen one commonly finds, within any given hamlet, from one to ten or so (largely but not entirely) endogamous corporate kin groups called *dadia*.[9] Such dadia are basically ritual units, but they may also act as collective work groups for various social and economic tasks, may provide the main framework for informal social intercourse outside the immediate family for its members, may serve as an undivided unit in the local stratification hierarchy, and may form a well-integrated faction within the general hamlet political system. The degree to which it takes on these general social functions differs rather widely from village to village. In some villages dadia organization is the central focus of social life, the axis around which it revolves; in others it is of relatively secondary importance; and in a few villages, especially semi-urbanized ones, dadia may not exist at all.

Rarely is the whole hamlet population organized into dadia, and sometimes only a definite minority will be. This is so because of the manner in which dadia are formed. When a family line begins to grow in size, wealth, and local political power, it begins to feel, as a consequence of what is probably the central Balinese social value, status pride, a necessity for a more intensified public expression of what it takes to be its increased importance within the hamlet. At this point the various households which compose the line will join together under a chief elected from among them to build themselves a larger ancestral temple. This temple will usually be built on public, hamlet-owned land, rather than within the confines of one of the houseyards, thus symbolizing the fact

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is very small. From the dated inscriptions, these appear to be chiefly from the thirteenth Çaka century, and thus from the Hindu-Javanese period; hence it would appear that there are no traces left of the old Hindu-Sumatran kingdoms. The principal Hindu relics were found in the Padang Highlands (the west coast residency of Sumatra). The most important are the Buddhist stupa Chandi Bongsoe at Moeara, Takoes on the Kampar River, and the same kind of monument near Tandjoeng Médan. Furthermore, brick ruins, known to the natives by the name biarò (biara), are found here, as well as in the Residency of Tapanoeli; the Biara Si Pamoetoeng in Tapanoeli at the mouth of the Panei River is of considerable size.

In the Palembang Residency, the subdivision [238] Lematang Ilir is the chief place of interest with chandis at Tanah Abang, Pandan, and Bat[illegible]Radja, and images at various places. In the Residency Jam[illegible] chief relics are found in the vicinity of the capital.

In various [illegible]es on Sumatra, including Riau and Bangka, vario[illegible]ptions, images, golden objects, etc. have also been found.

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Of greater importance from the point of view of the archaeologist are the antiquities of Bali and west Lombok; these include the remains of a chandi with a Sivaist image and a nandi (see p. 243) at Boekti, Boelèlèng Division, copper plates with dates running from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century, A.D., old bronze objects, etc. In quite recent times, rock dwellings and tombs with decorative sculpture have been discovered at Tampak-Siring (southern Bali), as well as a relief, 27 meters high and hewn in rock, together with a hermitage, Tojo Poeloeh, discovered at Bedoeloe, Gianjar Subdivision (southern Bali).

Of the other provinces outside Java and Madura, the southern and eastern divisions of Borneo are really the only places where anything of interest has been found, and then almost exclusively in the Kutai Subdivision (see p. 262). It must not be forgotten, however, that most of the outer provinces have not yet been

[540 cont.]

776 although recognized, are not worshiped as such. Actually, both are identified with Siva or, more precisely, are regarded as forces of Siva. They are only other shapes, other forms of Siva, as it were. All the attributes and qualities of these two gods, especially those of Vishnu, have been transferred to Siva.

Sivaism underwent still another alteration here. As we mentioned earlier, Siva had two conflicting characters; he was a benevolent, a creating god, but also the destroyer. In this last capacity, the Indians called him Kâla. On Bali Siva as creator has been separated from Siva as destroyer. He is worshiped as a separate god for each character, as Siva for the one and Kâla for the other.

[541] Besides Siva, his spouse is also worshiped. Like Siva, her conflicting characters were separated. As a benevolent, creating divinity, she is worshiped as Pârvatî or Giripruti; as the goddess of death, as Kâlî Durgâ.

Besides these, the Balinese also know Vishnu's çakti, Lakshmî or Çri, the goddess of fertility, of abundance, and, as such, of agriculture. Just as the characteristics of Vishnu were transferred to Siva, those of Çri were transferred to Siva's çakti, Pârvatî.

The other gods of the Hindu pantheon are also known on Bali. For instance, the merchants worship Ganesa as the god of wisdom and cunning. Indra, too, is not unknown, and likewise Varuna, who is also god of the sea here.

Moreover, the Balinese know a sun god, Sûrya.

346 [796] The principal places where these gods are worshiped are the so-called Sad-kajangan or sad-kahyangan or kahjangan; Kawi sad = six, kahjangan = abode of the gods, derived from hjang = god. These six temples, all dedicated to Siva, are located in the various states and are used principally for the offerings that the rulers make to Siva during important festivities. Each village has smaller temples, puri or pangastanan, for daily worship. Their name is puri when they are intended for the notables, and pangastanan for the common people. There

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346 are no temples on Bali for Brahma or Vishnu, which is natural since they are regarded only as forces of Siva. There are sanctu-
778 776 aries here and there for Indra and for Varuna. Those dedicated to
782 the latter are usually located on the coast. Çri is worshiped in little houses built for this in the sawahs or along the roads, in which the passers-by scatter a few grains of rice if they have any with them.

Furthermore, each house has a house-temple, sanggar.

793 The priests in charge of the service in the large temples
[564] always belong to the caste of the Brahmans. Their principal activity, of course, is conducting [542] the religious ceremonies in the temples. They are not teachers of the people, although they give instruction to those who are being trained as priests. They further occupy themselves with regulating the chronology, and they determine favorable and unfavorable days for anyone who turns to them. Finally, they busy themselves with literature, especially with the study of the holy books, the Vedas.

791 Besides these actual priests, there is another class of per-
786 sons who play an important role in the worship of the people, to which both men and women belong. During great religious festivities, they are, so it is said, possessed by one or another divinity and in this condition manifest the will of the divinity. They are called walyan, of which wewalén or wawalen, as they are also called, is a modified form. I emphasize this word, because we shall meet it later elsewhere in the archipelago. As a rule, these people are put in a state of ecstasy by artificial means, through incense, monotonous chants, etc., in order to be able to serve the gods as their inferiors. The words that they utter in this condition are considered oracles and as such are respected. Furthermore, they are witch doctors and doctresses.

782 Worship consists of making offerings, which are given with a sembah and are deposited in front of the little temple-houses. The sembah is coupled with a muttered formula, mantra.

796 The notables usually make the offerings in the ordinary
782 temples, but at great festivities they are made by the wawalen,